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FOCUS on business

What's ahead . . .

Confidence begins at home—so the British hope.

An International Monetary Fund team is due in London at the end of this week to study developments in the British economy. It is likely to find Britons retaining more faith in their economic future than some outsiders have shown.

British optimism is based on a number of hopeful signs: Public spending is being kept in hand; private spending is actually receding; the underlying trend of exports appears to be steadily upward; world trade also is rising . . . but, imports into Britain at last seem to be falling away; and, importantly, the concept that higher productivity must accompany wage increases now is becoming widely accepted.

London will have no lack of figures with which to try to convince the IMF team that British confidence is justified.

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The bottom seems to be falling out of the American tin can.

Tin is in trouble from its competitors, mainly aluminum and stainless steel. Its price is dropping, and some expect it to plunge still further.

The situation worries Washington. In an effort to halt the decline it has put a stop to the selling of tin from the surplus in the national stockpile. In addition, it has set a federal interagency group to work to find ways of using the stockpile more effectively.

It is not just Washington that is concerned. Asian, African, and South American tin producers are looking at a dubious future: If the price dips below a level that will support operating costs, many mines may have to be closed.

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Some American oil companies, too, are surveying the future without enthusiasm. Their search for oil in the United States seems likely to become both more difficult and more expensive.

An Interior Department study shows oil reserves to be adequate for at least 15 years. It points out, however, that United States production per well has been declining for 10 years (except for a recent mild improvement); and it adds that rising exploration costs may make oil less competitive with other fuels.

But the oil spectrum has some bright colors. Atlantic Richfield and Humble Oil & Refining Company, in a joint project, report a discovery in Alaska that may turn out to be one of the "largest petroleum accumulations known to the world."

Trends . . .

Federal agencies are using new tools to crack the nut of discriminatory employment practices in the United States.

At the kernel of the problem is the limit which some employers place on the promotion of members of minority groups. These "structural impediments" include hiring, testing, and methods of assessing seniority which unduly favor white employees.

The new nutcrackers are rules which make it easier for the government to take remedial action against holders of federal contracts. The burden of proof that a firm is sticking to equal-opportunity guidelines now will rest squarely on the employer's shoulders. Companies failing to meet the tougher regulations will face public hearings and possible loss of federal contracts. Several major companies have already been faced with debarment.

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In Dallas, meanwhile, black businessmen are stretching out their hands to help their "blood brothers."

The 42-year-old Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce intends to hire and train a minimum of 100 undereducated, disadvantaged poor. It will be a joint venture with a training firm, Delta Education Corporation.

Most projects preparing "hard-core unemployed" for work are being carried out by large, white-dominated corporations. The Dallas group comprises mainly small-business men with large hearts.

How and why . . .

British banks are having to put down new roots, for a fresh gale of competition is blowing.

Nearly 20 American banks already operate in London. Another 10 plan to open London branches in the next 12 months. Meanwhile the General Post Office is preparing to start its new "giro" banking operation throughout Britain. In effect this offers the public a simple current account or checking service by mail plus the services of a bank (the GPO) with 20,000 branches.

British banks' reaction has been to regroup and amalgamate. But where this is blocked by antimonopoly legislation, the banks are going to have to find other methods of self-defense.

Where to look

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Noninvolvement in Czechoslovakia

U.S. tests 'post-Vietnam foreign policy'

By Joseph C. Harsch
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

There is a serious crisis in Eastern Europe, and the United States, according to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, is totally noninvolved.

This is the first "crisis" measure of what the diplomats are beginning to call the "post-Vietnam" foreign policy of the United States. It gives a guideline to forward thinking. The implication is clear. In the days which will come after the Vietnam war has been wound up, it is a reasonable probability that the "new" American foreign policy will be marked by two distinct differences from the old, and now visibly receding, policy.

Pattern of diplomacy

Sympathies aroused

First, in the old policy the United States was ready at the drop of a hat to "contain communism" anywhere and at any time. This carried in many minds a positive as well as a negative implication. Containment sometimes meant a try at "rolling back the Iron Curtain."

But we have in the present crisis over Czechoslovakia at least the appearance of a threat of aggression by the Soviet Union against a remarkably innocent (according to Western standards) small country whose only sin is in abolishing censorship and police tyranny and toying with the idea of allowing opposition party politics.

Here is a case where both bully and potential victim are nominally Communist but where the small country is perceptibly less tainted with orthodox communism than is the big country which has left its combat troops overlong inside the boundaries of the small country.

This is the kind of situation which in times past has aroused the sympathies of the United States for the small country, and for the potential victim of big-power communism.

Yet the American reaction, both governmental and popular, is a clear and decisive "ohne mich" (without me).

The question of whether the United States should lend any kind of support to Czechoslovakia in its remarkably bold defiance of Moscow has not even been seriously debated either in public print or in government backrooms. There has merely been a quick and firm reflexive decision that this is a crisis which does not concern Washington.

What Washington will expect

It concerns deeply anyone who cares about human freedoms. It concerns directly anyone who would like to see the frontiers of police-state tyranny pushed back. But the government of the United States is scrupulously standing aside.

The reason is perfectly clear. Czechoslovakia lies inside what Moscow regards as the Soviet "sphere of influence."

In the new American foreign policy there is going to be a new respect for the "spheres of influence" of the Soviet Union.

The converse is of course valid. Washington will expect from Moscow an equal

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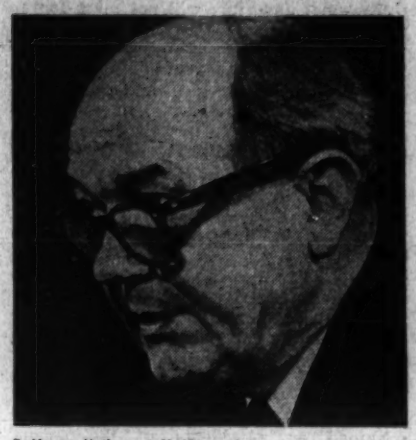

By Norman Mathony, staff photographer

Dean Rusk
New path for United States

Keystone

Having a fling

Full of exuberance, these three English schoolgirls, Penny Francis, Josephine Gillick, and Kim McCarthy, cavort in London. Why so happy? They are doubles for Julie Andrews at various ages in a film about actress Gertrude Lawrence.

Reformers backed in Prague

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Prague

Czechoslovak reformers gained an important victory Friday amid signs that the opposition at home is—temporarily at least—disarmed, and that the Soviet Union may draw back from the brink of an open split.

In a tense 24 hours, the Czech Communist Party Central Committee endorsed by acclamation, without a formal vote, its Presidium's rejection of the Soviet Union's demand it halt democratization.

It also declared itself ready for bilateral or even blocwide consultations to remove suspicions of Prague's intentions, so long as there is no interference in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs.

Simultaneously, the Soviets appeared to be moving more cautiously. It is possible they have begun to realize that the Czechoslovak leaders—by their steadfast refusal to be provoked or drawn into sharp polemics — have held their ground and made it more difficult for Moscow to intervene.

From Moscow came a new letter. It proposed an almost immediate meeting between the whole array of Soviet and Czechoslovakian leaders—on one side the 20-member Soviet Politburo headed by general sec-

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Thieu asks guarantees for accord

By Saville R. Davis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Honolulu

Three statements at Honolulu are the key to advancing the Paris peace talks with a reasonable degree of agreement from South Vietnam.

One is "effective international guarantees" for a settlement. A new form of international inspection will be proposed at the suitable time, to be backed by big- and small-power assurances, if not actual guarantees. The term was used here by President Thieu, whose government cannot risk the breakdown of a weak settlement.

A second is President Johnson's phrase here that the American pledge to South Vietnam "stands firm . . . against any deception." He meant deception in the peace talks, in a settlement, or in its enforcement.

Viewpoints differ

The third was President Thieu's effort to drive this point home. He quoted back to President Johnson, in the presence of the two delegations, what the President had said in his March 31 speech which launched the Paris talks. This correspondent was in the President's office at the time and noted the sharp nod of his head and the exceptional emphasis that he placed on the words "fake solution." He said: "The United States will never accept a fake solution to this long and arduous struggle and call it peace." Mr. Thieu repeated the operative words of this sentence to Mr. Johnson at the preliminary meeting here.

The two Presidents and their staffs have made a serious effort here to cope with their differing national approaches to the Paris talks, which Mr. Johnson candidly said "divide up." As is generally known, the South Vietnamese leaders and the majority

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Rockefeller stalks governors

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Cincinnati

This could be the beginning of the beginning or the beginning of the end for the Rockefeller-for-president stretch drive.

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller needs momentum in his last-minute effort to overtake Richard M. Nixon in the race for the GOP presidential nomination.

This national governors' conference, with 26 GOP governors represented, is a forum that could provide the New York Governor with important assistance—even at this late date.

At this point, only a handful of GOP governors have expressed their support of Mr. Rockefeller. Yet it is known that at least two-thirds of these state chief executives were at one time leaning toward Mr. Rockefeller as the nominee.

Governor Rockefeller has said that it was "possible" that some more governors would come out for him at the conference.

Besides this, in corridor interviews and informal polls, the governors will have an opportunity to express their sentiment about the GOP nomination. A poll favoring Mr. Rockefeller would be the sort of thing that would give him needed momentum.

Happening needed

The Rockefeller people appear convinced that the Governor's recent travels have helped to create a "favorable climate" for an effective Rockefeller challenge at Miami. What they need now, they say, is an "event" that might somehow shake the delegates loose from their allegiance to Mr. Nixon.

An expression of growing governor support here would certainly be akin to such an "event."

On the other hand, if nothing happens here to evidence growing Rockefeller support among these important political leaders, then the Rockefeller drive for the presidency may be impaired. This is a forum that could get him going. It is also a forum which, through sheer inaction and inattention, could deliver a damaging and perhaps destructive blow to the whole Rockefeller effort.

Preview provided

Actually, this conference may take on a preconvention air. Four years ago in Cleveland the governors' meeting turned out to be a preview of the GOP convention—and in many ways a lot more interesting.

That year the 16 Republican governors engaged in a frantic, last-minute effort to resist the imminent take-over of the party at the highest level by a strong conservative candidate—Barry Goldwater.

They failed, but their striving made for some very interesting stories.

More than anything they tried to get behind a moderate leader who would challenge Mr. Goldwater for the nomination. But before they could get behind someone, they first had to find someone who would take on the task of letting people get behind him. No one really volunteered in Cleveland.

First, Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania looked as if he was about to lead the charge. It even looked for a few hours as though he had the highly regarded Eisenhower blessing. But the Eisenhower backing soon proved to be an illusion. And, at least for the remainder of the convention, Governor Scranton refused to lead the moderate cause.

Commitment noted

Then some governors and even Mr. Nixon tried to move Gov. George Romney of Michigan into this leadership role. For a few hours in Cleveland Governor Romney was tempted. But he ducked out quickly when he was reminded by Michigan newspapers that he had a commitment to remain on for governor for another two years.

It all ended in a kind of friendly shambles. Governor Scranton and his lady danced the "Pennsylvania Polka" at the final governors' ball. The applause as he danced was interpreted as an appreciation from his colleagues that he, at least, had considered entering the fray. Later, of course, he did become a candidate.

But the challenge to Mr. Goldwater died at the governors' conference in Cleveland.

What now of the challenge to Mr. Nixon by the Rockefeller forces?

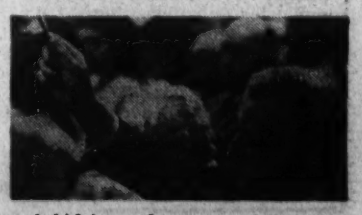
Inside today

Foes hang on phone call made by Justice Fortas

A telephone call Associate Justice Abe Fortas made last year is still ringing in his ears. It could be the single event on which his confirmation as new chief justice rests.

Justice on the stand: Page 10

Going, going, gone . . . at 4,000 Paris auctions



A bid is made at one of the more than 4,000 auctions held in Paris each year.

Prices are higher than in New York or London, but buyers enjoy a comfortable guarantee.

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2nd Cl Post Pd at Boston, Mass., and add'l offices

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Council to rethink guiding policies

Church assembly closes on global note

By Louis Gariner
Religious affairs editor of The Christian Science Monitor

Uppsala, Sweden

The Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches is history now, but history that could make a difference in both the life of the church and the direction it will take in years to come.

The next assembly will not meet for another five to seven years. So the work of this assembly will chart the general course of the council, possibly until 1975.

The assembly elected a new central committee of 120 members. This group will meet once a year to govern the affairs of the council until the next assembly.

The new committee includes 89 clergymen and 31 lay men and women. Only two are really young enough to be considered representative of youth. Only eight are women.

Two of the American nominees for the committee, the Rev. David G. Colwell and Dr. James I. McCord, withdrew in order to give more Negro Americans an opportunity to take their places and make their views heard on this top policymaking body.

Leaders named

Named as presidents of the council were: His Holiness German, Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church; The Rt. Rev. A. H. Zulu, Bishop of Zululand and Swaziland, Church of the Province of South Africa; Dr. Hanns Lilje, Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hannover; the Rev. Dr. Ernest A. Payne, the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland; and the Rev. Dr. John C. Smith, the United Presbyterian Church in the United States.

An effort was made, spearheaded by Americans, to substitute Mrs. Birgit Rodhe of the Church of Sweden for Bishop Lilje. She received substantial support, but the move was defeated. It was an attempt to get as one of the presidents a person who was younger, nonclerical, a woman, and progressive.

Elected honorary president was the Rev. Dr. Willem Adolf Visser 't Hooft of the Netherlands, who served the World Council of Churches as its general secretary from its founding in 1948 until his retirement in 1966. His successor, the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake of the United States, continues in the post of general secretary.

World troubles scanned

The assembly, in approving a major study of the structure of the council, was given to understand that the intention is completely to rethink the nature of the council and the assembly process. Also suggested was "study of the future participation of youth in all activities" of the council.

Resolutions were passed on Vietnam. The Nigerian-Biafran conflict, and the Middle East.

The resolution on Vietnam declares that "the mortal suffering of the Vietnamese people should at once be ended." It calls for the immediate and unconditional stopping of "the United States' bombing of North Vietnam, and all use of weapons of mass destruction."

Nigeria resolution

It maintains that "a political solution, so urgently needed in Vietnam, cannot be achieved by military victory, but must in the final analysis be dependent upon the choice of the Vietnamese people themselves." It goes on to charge that "the appalling situation of the Vietnamese people today offers an example of the tragedy to which unilateral intervention of a great power can lead."

The Americans who spoke supported the resolution, objecting only that it was not strong enough. It passed by an overwhelming majority. About 20 negative votes were counted and 30 abstentions. It will be transmitted at highest levels to the American and Vietnamese delegations in Paris.

The council was painfully aware of the conflict between Nigeria and the former Eastern Region. An intense debate took place between delegates from both sides. A resolution adopted by the assembly made an urgent plea to both parties to end the hostilities and allow a resumption of negotiations.

Middle East policy

A new $3 million appeal for relief operations was made, and three representatives were sent to Niger where the Organization of African Unity is holding talks on the trouble in Nigeria.

The Middle East resolution cited worsening conditions in that area, including a new armament race, and declared, in line with a past council statement, that "the independence, territorial integrity, and security of all nations in the area must be guaranteed. Annexation by force must not be condoned."

In other action, the assembly recommended that the churches "should give spiritual care and support" to selective conscientious objectors. In other words, they asked for support for those whose conscience leads them to object to participation in a particular war even though they cannot in conscience object to all war. "Such support," the statement says, "should include pressure to have the law changed where this is required."

In a statement on human rights, it asked for "the full application of religious liberty to individuals and organizations and the free right of expression of conscience for all persons, whatever their beliefs."

Orthodox role rises

The assembly placed so much stress on pressing world problems such as race, war, and poverty that some may assume it was unconcerned about those matters of more traditional interest to the churches. That assumption would be incorrect, however.

The influence of the Orthodox churches, which has been appreciable at Uppsala, has helped to preserve a balance in this regard. The Orthodox, except for the church in Greece, were present in strength and participated fully.

Orthodox integration was such that they no longer found it necessary to issue separate statements as they had felt constrained to do at prior assemblies. As Dr. Blake pointed out, this can no more be called simply "a Protestant council."

Interest was considerable in such traditional church concerns as "faith and order," unity, mission, and worship. But these concepts were given new meaning and direction in the statements adopted at Uppsala.

Achievements measured

The terms "catholicity" and "apostolicity" were given new and broader content, leading in a social and cultural direction. Mission was viewed more as an activity of God than of the church. Practically, this means that mission was conceived of more in terms of sending Christians out into the world to do God's work rather than calling people from the world into the church.

Secularization, often conceived of negatively by churchmen, was here used in a much more positive way.

Assessments of assembly achievements vary greatly depending upon the expectations of the observer. Some youth participants dismissed the accomplishments as negligible and viewed the assembly as taking far too conservative a tack. Their hopes and expectations, obviously, were very high and very much oriented toward rapid and dramatic change.

Dr. Blake, the general secretary, was, on the other hand, considerably pleased by the results. Expecting less, he was glad that the assembly turned out to be more forward looking than critics had predicted.

He noted that some had been saying that everything which came out of the Geneva Church and Society Conference of 1966 would be repudiated by "aged ecclesiastics" at Uppsala. But, he pointed out, these very ecclesiastics reaffirmed the conclusions worked out at Geneva.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Silent demonstration **Marchers carry placards following an all-night sit-in at the closing of the World Council of Churches assembly in Uppsala, Sweden. Placards contain parts of resolutions the demonstrators wanted implemented by the churches.**

★Czech panel backs reformers

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retary Leonid I. Brezhnev and on the other, the Czechoslovak Presidium which has 14 members headed by first secretary Alexander Dubcek.

Marshal makes an announcement

In Prague, Marshal Ivan Yakubovsky, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact maneuver forces whose snail-paced withdrawal to their own countries has provided the menacing background to this grave crisis, announced: "We are going home."

The marshal said this, in a brief radio interview, at an airport leave-taking party where he exchanged toasts and goodwill courtesies with Czechoslovak ministers and generals before flying home himself.

In view of the situation which has developed, the marshal told his interviewer, "I think it necessary to say that everything has gone very well."

His troops, however, are still going home very slowly. The Soviet motorized infantry units are still far from the east Slovak border they must cross into the Soviet Union and will not reach it before next week.

Because of this, the plan which became known Thursday for a meeting between Mr. Dubcek and Mr. Brezhnev in the eastern Slovak capital of Kosice has been abandoned.

An early meeting is still contemplated. The new Soviet letter suggested July 22 or 23 in Moscow, Kiev, or Lvov, though the Czechoslovaks had already indicated that a Soviet venue is not acceptable and that they want a meeting instead on their own ground.

At this writing it seems certain that the two sides will meet very soon—the Russians having proposed it because they have left themselves little alternative to talks except by resort to drastic action, and the Prague leaders accepting because, from the start, they have urged bilateral exchanges to remove misunderstandings.

Political skill displayed

They have, in fact, displayed political skill in leaving the Kremlin little cause or justification for harsh measures. At the same time, the latter's actions have stimulated a growing volume of support for the Czechs within the wider Communist movement.

Prague itself is still facing a serious and complicated situation. But at this stage the Czechs are stronger in morals than a week or so ago.

One view is that Moscow counted on the Czechoslovaks backing down as soon as the heat was on. If so—even allowing for the differences of temperament of the two nations—they appear at this stage to have miscalculated as seriously as Stalin in 1948 when he said a wag of his finger would bring the Yugoslav heretics down.

This Czechoslovak resolve is impressive. Again at the Central Committee Friday, speakers reiterated their desire to avoid a clash with the Soviet Union and its allies. But they stood solidily behind the leadership's refusal to abandon the promises of the January reform movement.

This was the opportunity for the opposition. But it had no stomach for criticism in view of the overwhelming national backing Mr. Dubcek now commands. Some of the "Old Guard" spoke but without a sign of challenge. And 19 members of the committee—with one exception, all of them conservatives—did not attend.

Signs of desperation seen

This does not necessarily mean they are finished, but it begins to look very much like it.

For their part, the Russians showed signs of possible desperation. Pravda on July 19 trotted out two stories of the cover-up sort which the Soviet press always uses when its domestic readers have to be convinced that the West is to blame (and not Soviet heavy handedness) for upsets to Kremlin policies, and difficulties with its allies.

One Pravda story was that a cache of United States small arms and ammunition destined for Sudeten German revenge seekers plotting to restore the "old order" in Czechoslovakia had been found recently hidden under a bridge near the West German border.

The other was a plot by the NATO powers—decked out with a plan for an ideological and political offiensive against the Communist states—singling out Czechoslovakia for subversion and detachment from the bloc.

Some arms, apparently, were in fact found, though from where and whom they came is either not known or not yet disclosed. But the Czechs are smiling over these stories as they did some time ago when the East German press discovered American tanks in Czechoslovakia—a half-dozen rather battered war-museum pieces and stage properties (one of them even a Soviet tank) brought out for the making of a World War II movie.

Czech reply unpublicized

Of Czechoslovakia's reply earlier this week to Soviet charges of counterrevolution and antisocialism and its explanation of the reform movement. Pravda and other Soviet news media published nothing. Nor did the East German press and radio, though it has been the most virulent of Prague's traducers. At this writing, only the Poles and the Hungarians have given it brief reference.

The question remains—what are the Russians likely to do? Some of the leaders here profess optimism that the present differences will be ironed out by discussion, as have misunderstandings from the past, and that the Russians will call off the hunt. That is what they hoped for from the talks.

Others, perhaps more realistic if one looks at Moscow's past record in bloc relations, are less confident and foresee a long period of strain such as the Yugoslavs had to endure.

One hope here is that Moscow's currently announced interest in further steps in nuclear disarmament, its heavy problems in the Far East, and its approaching conference in search of some semblance of unity within the world Communist movement against Communist China—all these suggest good reason enough for avoiding an outrage either to Western or international Communist opinion.

It is this which may keep them from the brink and persuade them to drop the pretense that Czechoslovakia is another Hungary.

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★U.S. tests 'post-Viet policy'

Continued from Page 1

respect for the American "sphere of influence." This applies to Cuba.

The return Washington will expect for keeping strictly aloof from whatever happens between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia will be a decisive, if gradual, Soviet disengagement from Cuba.

Second, under the old policy the United States used foreign-aid funds as a major instrument of American policy in every quarter of the world and in respect to every country which was not directly a part of the Communist bloc.

Yet the House of Representatives was busy in hacking away at the current foreign-aid bill at the same time that Mr. Rusk was disclaiming any American concern in the fate of Czechoslovakia. And while the President deplored what the House was doing, it is also clear that the day of the big annual foreign-aid appropriation is at an end.

Presumably the Congress will reach a compromise with the administration on foreign aid. It usually does. But in the compromise the 1969 foreign-aid budget will certainly be the smallest since the cold war began.

The end result will be to permit the administration to carry forward its aid programs in the countries which Congress recognizes as being of vital national interest to the United States. There are not many.

Inclinations 'adjusted'

No man can, at the present moment, say exactly what the new foreign policy will in fact be. It will not be defined by any one person or group of persons. It will not be arrived at arbitrarily, or academically. It will be the end product of the conjunction of events with the basic inclinations of the American people. And these basic inclinations have been massively "adjusted" by the Vietnam war.

For example, it is a reasonable prediction that for several years ahead Washington will be gun-shy of any suggestion of another military intervention on the Asiatic mainland.

It is equally reasonable to think that the next administration, and perhaps others beyond it, will shun involvement for ideological reasons; will let itself become involved only where there is a clear general agreement as to "national interest."

"Washington watches (foreign diplomats in Washington) have been doing their "homework" on this subject of late. It would be fascinating to be able to read, side by side, the appreciations of the lot of them. It is a reasonable guess that most, perhaps even all, would agree on most of the following propositions:

In the new American foreign policy the United States will regard Latin America as an area of primary "national interest," and will continue the Alliance for Progress program.

Priority considered

Also, Europe will be restored to a higher priority than Southeast Asia. This implies a vigorous effort to revive the NATO alliance as an important feature of American policy.

The Middle East will probably be the most immediately important crisis area. George W. Ball, the new American Ambassador to the United Nations and the prospective next secretary of state (if Hubert H. Humphrey is the next president) is devoting the bulk of his attention to a possible Middle East settlement. It is merely a political fact that Washington will be defending Israel no matter who wins the next election.

The real question is whether Israel can be defended by a general settlement in the area. This will probably be regarded as better-than-direct American defense of Israel. The search is already on.

Elsewhere, a decline in United States interest and activity is expectable.

The Indian Ocean has been all but abandoned to the Soviet Union.

The Mediterranean continues to be of interest in Washington, but Western Europe will be expected to take over a share of the burden.

Twelve years ago the Hungarians rebelled against Russian rule and looked hopefully to Washingto for help. It never came.

Last week the Czechs rebelled against Moscow's dominance over their internal affairs.

Wisely, and correctly, they have not expected help from Washington. They have read accurately the newinclination of affairs.

If they make their new freedom good (which any Westerner is entitled to hope will happen) they will have done it entirely on their own. Washington has not lifted a finger to help them. On the contrary, the advice to them from Washington has been to take it easy, and "play it cool."

The war in Vietnam is not over yet, but already Washington is in fact moving into the "new foreign policy."

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Associated Press Wirephoto

Hoping to iron out their differences in their approaches to a Vietnam settlement, President Johnson and South Vietnamese President Thieu (second from left) met at the Pacific Command Headquarters in Honolulu over the weekend. In the American delegation are Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, presidential aide Walt W. Rostow, and William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs.

Chiefs of state in Honolulu

★Thieu asks accord guarantees

Continued from Page 1

element in the government they head, are frankly afraid the United States, to get a settlement, will leave them vulnerable to the domestic and North Vietnamese Communists.

In particular they are concerned lest the United States accept promises, made by Hanoi that it had no intention of keeping. This is what both Presidents meant by the terms "deception" and "fake solution."

There is no way to avoid such promises by Hanoi in any agreement made at Paris. By definition, a settlement would consist of the pledged word of both sides.

Therefore something like "effective international guarantees" — in the Thieu phrase—are the only means of turning promises into deeds and ensuring that they are reasonably well kept.

Big-power guarantees have been carefully considered by the American policymakers. But there is a serious question whether the Soviet Union would or could offer them and carry through with them. Communist China probably would not, and very likely could not.

UN role in doubt

The United Nations could help. But there are few who argue that it could "effectively" carry out what is essentially a cold-war task of this sort. The UN has many accomplishments to its credit in the post-war world, but the long-continued test of strength between the leaders of the Communist and non-Communist worlds has chiefly been carried on independently of the UN.

For these reasons the American policymakers in Washington and Paris have been working on a combination of big-power and regional Asian forces, both to inspect and enforce a settlement in Vietnam and perhaps in the wider area of Southeast Asia.

As this is written, details are not available either here or at Paris. But the signs are that the United States will choose an appropriate moment to launch a detailed prospectus.

It would appear from indications at the talks here that South Vietnam could buy such a proposition. It would not allay the fears that are evident here as well as in government circles in Saigon. There will be a continuing danger that any settlement between the Communist and non-Communist worlds is precarious and could be twisted—and thus prove a "deception" to those high-ranking South Vietnamese whose lives are at stake. But some risks must be taken, and the nearest system to "effective international guarantees" would seem to be the best available course for both Washington and Saigon.

U.S. opinion exhibits signs of isolationism

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Frustrated and unhappy over Vietnam, American public opinion shows some signs of isolationism.

This comes just as the Kremlin faces the worst crisis since the Stalin-Tito split and the break with Communist China.

The two events are interacting, whatever the State Department may say.

And by a curious twist that fickle thing, world opinion, is turning overwhelmingly against Moscow in its effort to bully Prague, just at a time when President Johnson at Honolulu appears to be taking new steps to deescalate the Vietnam war.

World student riots shortly, some observers ironically declare, will be directed against the Russian superpower rather than the American superpower.

Aid cut back

Western observers here are genuinely concerned over signs of isolationism in the United States coming at this critical time.

For some years opponents of the Vietnam war have forecast that the United States might react to disillusionment over that struggle by lessening its foreign role elsewhere.

There are these developments:

Led by Republicans, the House, 228 to 184, completed the brutal cut in President Johnson's proposed $2,921,500,000 foreign-aid bill to $1,993,900,000, with further cuts likely in actual appropriations granted, provided the Senate does not meanwhile restore part of the money. In the interests of economy this means the United States is pulling back from commitments in many areas around the globe.

U.S. reaction cautious

Second, there is a drive in Congress to reduce United States troops in Europe from around 250,000 to as few as 50,000. Again, there is a mixture of motives, from economy to a frustration with foreign commitments. Any unilateral withdrawal of this size would throw the postwar NATO alliance into confusion. It might imply, too, that if a clash came with Communist states it would not be one of land warfare fought with the buffer of NATO troops but with nuclear weapons.

America's circumspect official reaction to the Czech crisis, in which it is leaning over backward not to interfere, is prompted by various motives: a wish for better relations with Moscow, fear of making things harder for Prague, hope of Communist aid in Vietnam peace. But there is an undercurrent of the new dislike of random foreign involvement some believe.

The opprobrium Washington would have been quick to voice in the past is being expressed delicately, it is understood, by personal representation of diplomats. It is left to other voices, like Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, to let Moscow know in public the support America gives to democratic elements in Czechoslovakia.

The other side of the story, as seen here, is how the shoe has been put on the other foot between the two superpowers in their relationship to client states.

Domino situation?

Now it is held that Moscow faces the so-called domino theory.

If Prague goes the way of Yugoslavia it breaches the Communist land buffer against the West, it is argued, and other "dominoes" may fall.

There are liberal elements in East Germany and Poland, not to mention Hungary and Bulgaria, it is believed, that are eager to support Prague just as Yugoslavia and Romania now are doing. Communist minority parties in Italy and France are on the side of Prague also.

Not only is there the question of physical defense, as "hawks" in Moscow may see it, but the prestige and credibility of the Communist shield are involved.

Moscow's anxiety over its shield in Czechoslovakia seems much closer than the situation involving the United States in Vietnam. Here it has been argued that the United States must hold the line or see Communist influence spread up to Australia and the Philippines.

U.S. trend watched

The so-called "new isolationism" in the United States is watched anxiously by partners over the world.

Every presidential candidate so far, in one form or another, has said that the United States should not be "policeman to the world."

Now there is a new element.

In leading the attack on foreign aid, Rep. H. R. Gross (R) of Iowa said the United States should not be "wet nurse" to the world.

Some here are concerned that unpopularity of Vietnam may cause the United States to turn inward. A violent reaction occurred in the United States after World War I. Then World War II grimly reminded, Americans that they cannot stay out of the world's affairs.

Moscow's problems in Prague acutely embarrass the administration.

Agreements tallied

Mr. Johnson has staked much on better relations with the Soviet Union. This has brought results: a consular treaty, signing of cultural pacts, opening of Moscow-New York air routes, a nonproliferation treaty and proposed bilateral negotiations to reduce missiles.

Some believe President Johnson hopes for a goodwill tour of Russia before leaving office and Soviet sources say this might be possible with peace in Vietnam. President Eisenhower's return visit to Russia after the Khrushchev visit here was blocked by the spy-plane incident.

Congressional cutbacks on foreign aid and a possible cut in United States troops in Europe come at an extremely sensitive time.

The Czech crisis involves not merely United States-Soviet relations, but communism throughout the world and the relationship of Russia to all Europe perhaps for a generation.

Party leadership in doubt

McCarthy drive jolts N.Y. Democrats

By David Holmstrom
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

While concord was never the state Democratic Party's hallmark in New York, even when Sen. Robert F. Kennedy was somewhat of a titular head, discord now is the pervading keynote.

And most of the noise can be attributed to the steady pressure of Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy and his indefatigable volunteers.

It all began in New Hampshire last March, and the apex of this volunteer "crusade" now is in New York's ruffled Democratic Party.

John J. Burns, state committee chairman, said recently, "We have no elected Democrat who controls the state now." He also said the party was caught in a "leadership vacuum."

And when pro-McCarthy forces won an upset victory by defeating the party regulars in the state primary in June, the regular party could also be said to be caught in a "followship vacuum."

Delegates pledged

Aside from those low-level Democrats in office, nobody really knows for sure where Democratic power lies in the state. But the moment of truth may come at the Democratic National Convention when the gavel falls and out of 2,622 votes 190 will belong to New York delegates.

And of those 190 delegates, 74 belong solidly to Senator McCarthy with the remaining either uncommitted (formerly pledged to Senator Kennedy) or lined up behind Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey.

In a stormy state-committee meeting held to decide at-large delegates to the convention, pro-McCarthy forces—led by Senate candidate Paul O'Dwyer—stomped out of the meeting when regular party members failed to allocate half of the 65 delegates to the McCarthy camp.

Gap seen

Because of their strong showing in the primary, the McCarthy forces felt they had a valid claim on at least half of the delegates-at-large. The end result was that less than a quarter of them went to Senator McCarthy. Supporters of the Minnesota Senator complained bitterly that the will of the people was being denied.

A few days later two borough presidents, Percy E. Sutton of Manhattan and Herman Badillo of the Bronx, added another twist by raising the issue of too little minority-group representation in the delegate lineup.

And in Washington Vice-President Humphrey, referring to the delegate snarl in New York, said he thought there "was a conspicuous absence of people who were very important in the political environment of New York—the Puerto Rican and the Negro — and I think they ought to be brought in."

After a flurry of angry telegrams—from pro-Humphrey city Councilman Frank O'Conner to Chairman Burns, and from Mr. O'Dwyer to Mr. O'Conner—Mr. Burns met with party officials "to get to the legal alternatives" surrounding a change in delegates.

Subsequently Chairman Burns asked the national committee, under John Bailey, national chairman, to approve an increase in the size of the delegation by changing some of the "at-large full votes to at-large half votes."

Meanwhile the McCarthy forces, momentarily rebuffed in their fight for "proportional representation," have redoubled their efforts to leave no voter unturned. In a two-pronged attack to demonstrate the depth and persistency of Senator McCarthy's support, the Coalition for a Democratic Alternative has launched a letter-writing campaign on the spot, to write to their local county chairmen and convention delegates expressing their desire for a "nonmachine-dominated" open convention. McCarthy headquarters asserts that a pilot project restricted to Manhattan produced more than "2,000 letters in 48 hours."

Telephone calls placed

The "McCarthy Telephone Revolution" is also under way. In response to full-page ads in local newspapers, more than 45,000 telephone calls have been received in less than two weeks.

Dr. Jerome Fine, coordinator of the program, said that 67 percent of the callers said they would not vote for Vice-President Humphrey if he leads the Democratic ticket in November. "Political professionals will be the first to realize that a lack of Humphrey strength in New York places local and state candidates in jeopardy," said Dr. Fine.

In another development, former backers of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy—Percy Sutton and Nassau County Executive Eugene H. Nickerson—announced that they were supporting Senator McCarthy for the Democratic nomination. Mr. Nickerson, Senator Kennedy's hand-picked choice in the Senate primary, was defeated by Mr. O'Dwyer largely because of a heavy pro-McCarthy turnout in metropolitan New York.

It was also disclosed that the main McCarthy organization, the Coalition for a Democratic Alternative spent $677,000 in capturing the 62 delegate seats in the primary. Expenditures for the United Democrats for Mr. Humphrey totaled almost $142,000.

While most regular party officials continue to quietly support the campaign of Vice-President Humphrey, the pro-McCarthy forces say they "do not believe the results of the Democratic convention in Chicago are a foregone conclusion."

Negro general named

By the Associated Press

Washington

Col. Frederic E. Davison has become the second Negro general in United States Army history and the only one currently on active duty.

President Johnson announced his promotion to the temporary rank of brigadier general.

General Davison is currently deputy commanding officer of the 199th Light Infantry Brigade in Vietnam.

The only other Negro general in Army history was Brig. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis Sr., who is retired.

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ARTS
ENTERTAINMENT

'I want art to be employed'

Merkin on labels and 'cerebral collage'

By Christopher Andreae

Boston

Richard Merkin is an artist who enjoys labels. His pictures are spattered with labels of one sort or another—snatches from popular songs of the '30's or '40's, bits of prose, dates, place-names, obscure hints, and obvious clues. He is also not averse to labeling his own highly personal and esoteric form of art. He has called it "slanted documentary," prejudiced journalism," and "cerebral collage."

A further label he has invented describes the elements of his life-style: "dandyical properties." Mr. Merkin's reputation in fact seems to be based quite as much on his own particular and polite kind of dandyism as on his art. In a recent interview I aimed to ask him more about his art than his tailor-made suits, though I discovered that his art and his personal style are ultimately indivisible.

Art with a job

Quoting an artist he greatly admires, Ronald Kitaj, Mr. Merkin began by saying: "He was asked what he wants art to do, and he said: 'I want art to be employed. I want it to get a job. I don't like the smell of art for art's sake.'

"I personally can't feel strongly about art with a social purpose, but on the other hand I'd like it to do something—to be effective."

On one level, most of Mr. Merkin's pictures deal with events or people of the '30's and '40's—the period which immediately preceded the arrival of Mr. Merkin.

In spite of his interest in that era, he nevertheless feels that his pictures are about the present. The different elements in them, he said, are chosen "in relationship to what they mean now. I would be the first to assert vehemently that the pictures are not about then—they are about now. I am about now."

More than meets the eye?

A discussion developed as a result of my feeling that although one can easily enjoy the richness of his paintings from a formal standpoint, there is nevertheless a great deal to puzzle the viewer in terms of personal and arcane references. "You mean," he quickly interpolated, "there is more to them than meets the eye? I find it interesting that since abstract expressionism, and possibly even before that, nothing is required of the viewer but his eyes."

"But that suggests," I said, "that art has become a purely visual experience. Surely it's a visual experience that relates to you inside in some sort of way?"

"That's true. I oversimplified. But I mean — well, take the Sacco-Vanzetti pictures that Ben Shahn painted in the early '30's. The associations which come from being in contact with those were not purely visual. They alluded to a lot of other things, in that case even social commentary and a certain criticism. Similarly with George Grosz. I think in some ways, perhaps, what's come about in the last 20 or 25 years is that a lot of that stuff has been taken out. A lot of the 'job' —the purpose and employment.

"I'm intrigued by the possibilities of painting, doing research, and the possibilities of research being poetry—and also of the poetry not being merely visual, but poetry that at least implies that there are other grounds to cover. I'm very disillusioned with visual triumphs."

Manipulation gap

People sometimes call Mr. Merkin a "nostalgist." This he objects to. "The things I choose to deal with are things that I can *manipulate*. Now that's an important thing. The distance between myself and my subjects has to be enough so that I can have the degree of objectivity I need. I'm a formal cat, in a lot of ways, and I insist on ritual and propriety and a certain sense of established value. One uses history to make poetry out of. Poetry out of current events doesn't smell right to me.

"In a more peripheral way, it is true that I am drawn to the period [of the '30's and '40's]. I think it's one of the last personal periods in our history. Things occurred on a so much more personal level. When a chap went to get a tailor-made suit, he didn't ask Cardin or Courrèges or Bill Blass or somebody what *they* thought he ought to wear. He spoke to his tailor and they came to an agreement based on established proprieties—and whatever eccentricities the cat may have had himself."

Dandyical proprieties

I asked why he was so fond of the word "propriety."

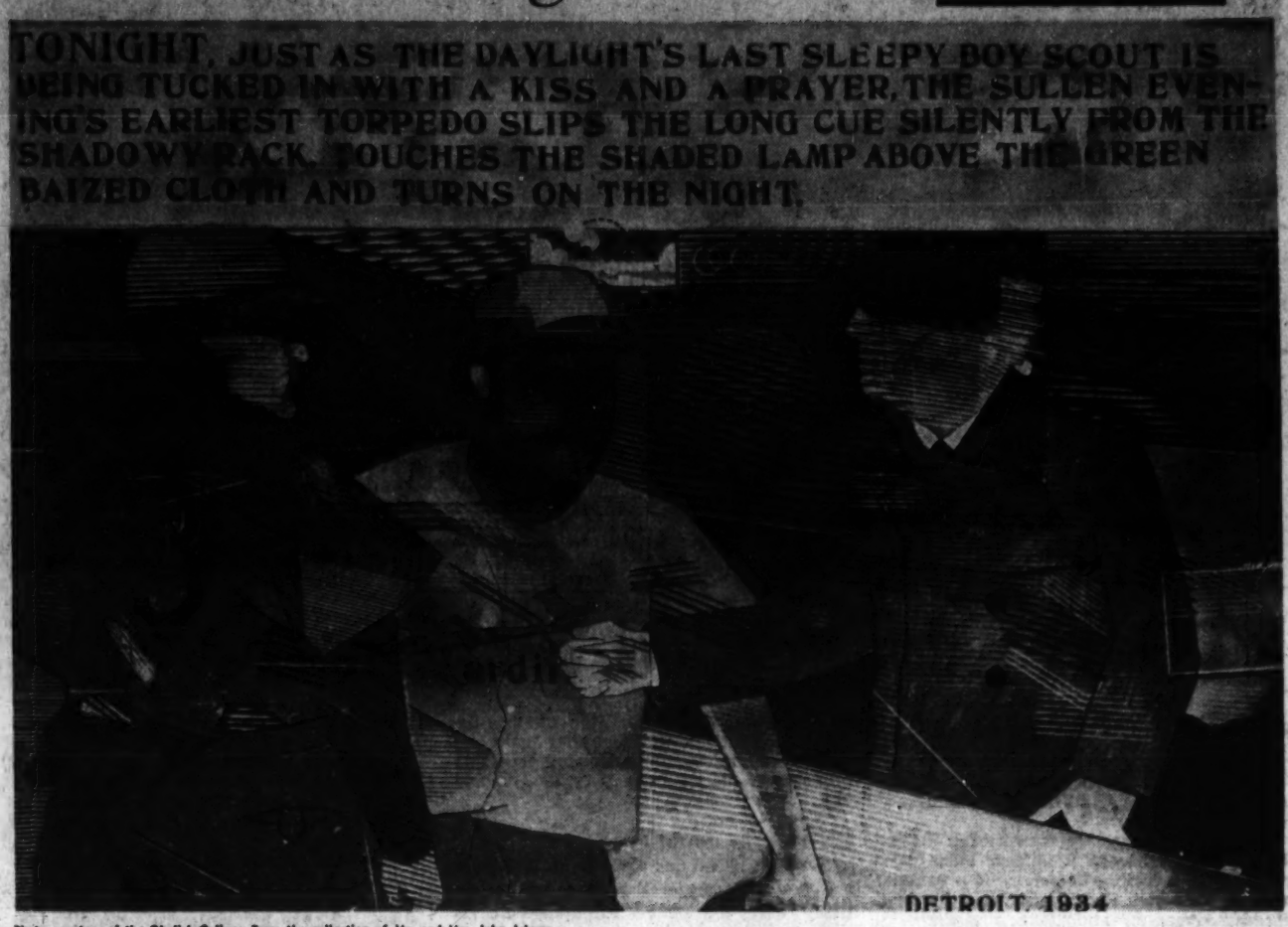
"What I mean by propriety is a sense that you have a set of 'rights' and 'wrongs,' and that there are certain things that you just don't do. I guess it's a very personal set of proprieties. You may do many very strange things, but it's all there, according to the law. I'm very interested—not in a thin or surface way—in things pertaining to dandyism because the dandy — from Brummell to Beerbohm to Lucius Beebe—is a very interesting creature who sometimes might appear to be paradoxical. I do find, in myself, this paradox of being very conservative on the one hand—and sometimes flamboyantly radical on the other."

His own invention

Mr. Merkin shifted the discussion from his art to his character easily enough because he clearly feels that there isn't much gap between them. He said: "All things emanate from the same sensibility—so that reading a book or meeting someone or buying a tie are all intertwined."

In many ways one feels that he is a self-invented man—he is what he has decided to be. It seems significant that Fitzgerald's story about another self-invented man, "The Great Gatsby," is his favorite novel. "There are very few things in the totality of American art creation," he said, "that move me as much."

Although he uses the name he was born with, and in other ways is not much like the Fitzgerald character, it does not seem altogether inappropriate to label this dandy/archivist/historian/poet / journalist/ artist "The Great Merkin."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DETROIT 1934

Photo courtesy of the Obelisk Gallery. From the collection of Mr. and Mrs. John Adams

'Every Day Is D-Day Under the El' (1968)

Richard Merkin, the artist whose work is shown here, is interviewed in the columns to the left.

Dragan on Romanian filmmaking

By Kimmis Hendrick

Bucharest

Mircea Dragan, the creative young general director of Romania's National Film Center and one of its best-known moviemakers, says Romanian film has one leading style trait. He calls it "its character of a fresco."

Mr. Dragan is obviously alluding to one of Romania's greatest art heritages. In the 15th and 16th centuries, fresco painters of extraordinary gifts covered the insides and outsides of the Moldavian churches, in what is now northern Romania, with frescoes still exciting in their magnificence. And these frescoes had a theme.

Their immediate purpose was to paint, in much the same terms as the stained glass makers of Chartres and the mosaic makers of Monreale, the Bible story. But their ultimate concern was special. It was to warn the people against the Ottoman threat.

Romania's filmmakers, Mr. Dragan suggests, are committed to reminding Romanians that Romania can only afford to be itself.

This is a Communist country. Its film industry is totally nationalized. Its movies, as Mr. Dragan observes, have "a social character." But they also retain a very non-doctrinaire characteristic, which may be proving to be more congenial to Romanian nationalism than Marxist theory: They entertain.

Romanians, devoted as they are to their national interests and to their state ideology, love a good time. One of the comments most often volunteered to visitors is, "We're an easygoing people." They also point out that they are Latins—that as one film man said, "We're an island of Latins surrounded by Slavs." It shows up in their approach to moviemaking—dedicated, resourceful, but not overly regimented.

As a matter of fact, little interests them more at the moment than the possibility of selling their movies to the United States.

"Romanian films are not known in American theaters partly because of our subjects," proposes D. Fernoago, production director for Romaniafilm's extremely modern and well-equipped "Bucuresti" Studios. "On the other hand," Mr. Fernoago adds, "it may be due to our contacts which are not strong with American distribution companies. And partly," he continues frankly, "it may be because our films are not as good, quality-wise, as other pictures."

It is hard to say. Romania has been experimenting with films ever since the turn of the century but its serious approach to cinema goes back only about 10 years. Mr. Dragan stresses that when Romaniafilm buys foreign movies, it picks carefully on the basis, to quote him, of "artistic criteria," as a means of making both Romanian audiences and directors more discriminating.

Choosing the best

Mihai Duta, chief of Romaniafilm's import-export department, says that his country, which produces 14 to 16 feature films a year, buys 150 from other countries. This includes 15 to 20 Hollywood movies. "In our opinion," observes Mr. Duta, "we choose really the best."

Romania also buys from Russia, France, Italy, Japan, and other countries—all the films, Mr. Duta says, that are generally regarded as successes throughout Europe. It sells its own pictures throughout Eastern Europe and in Africa and Asia.

When Romania buys the print of a foreign film, it duplicates it for use in its 550 movie houses that use 35mm. pictures and also reprints them in 16mm. for showing in village "cultural centers" throughout the country. There's not a four corners where one can't see a movie. If any westerner is under the impression that the Communist countries of eastern Europe are mainly materialistic, he has to think again when he sees the emphasis they put on all the arts. Mr. Duta's run-down on the Hollywood films interesting to Romania struck this reporter as more discriminating than the Oscar choices made by Hollywood's Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

He says he hopes that after the coming film festival at Karlovy Vary in Czechoslovakia, Hollywood will decide to let the Communist countries acquire prints to "In the Heat of the Night."

Critical commentary

Mr. Dragan says that the Romanian filmmakers feel the same responsibility to comment critically on their society that makes this Hollywood production so impressive. "Not only do we have this freedom," says Mr. Dragan, "but it is being supported and invited." Then, by way of example, he cites a Romanian documentary film project such as would be almost inconceivable in Hollywood.

Communist Romania had a big steel plant where the turnover was so tremendous that production was in constant jeopardy. Romaniafilm's documentary specialists, about a year ago, did an on-the-spot study of the situation dealing with the lives of the people working in the plant. It showed very plainly that their community life was far from satisfying. The plant's management had to study the movie, reply to it, and make changes.

One gets a feeling of great excitement at the "Bucuresti" Studios and at the "Alexandru Sahia" Studios where documentary films are made and at the "Animafilm" Studio where Ion Popescu-Gopa and other artists make Romania's famous animated movies. They're like laboratories.

What's going to come of coproduction and service "package deals"—complete Romanian facilities for making foreign films —worked out with Italy, France, West Germany, and Hollywood? What's going to come of Romaniafilm's plan to hold a trade show in the United States this fall? What started out as a nationalistic enterprise seems to be converting itself rapidly into a boundary-leaping industry. But then, as Mr. Fernoago observes with a smile, moviemaking has never been done without excitement.

"Passion," he smiles, "is what it takes to make films."

Stockhausen on contemporary music

By Winfred Blevins

Santa Barbara, Calif.

In many ways Karlheinz Stockhausen is the antithesis of the image of the contemporary artist. The image makers, and some artists themselves, present the writer, painter, or composer as hesitant and uncertain in a paradoxical world. In a dust jacket photograph, or a self-portrait in oils, he is apt to look harried, a little unkempt, and worn by his years. Speaking on educational TV, he is liable to emphasize the shifting of values, the increasing depersonalization of society, and the prevailing sense of disorientation.

But not Stockhausen. As we chatted in Santa Barbara, the avant-garde composer looked a good deal younger than his 40 years. His face was reddened and his blond hair lightened by the wind and sun. His corduroy slacks and jacket suggested a hip-graduate student, not a distinguished visiting lecturer.

But the impression of youth was created even more by the hints of a personality not at all tired, not discouraged by the passing of years. He speaks rapidly, in precise and idiomatic English, leaping agilely from concept to abstruse concept.

He was talking about the effect of the indeterminacy principle on our ideas about perception. Suddenly, at the mention of canned music, he was off talking about subliminal (subconscious) perception:

"You know, they've discovered that what you don't know you hear is what really gets you. In advertising it's the subconscious suggestions that make you buy." And, tapping a forefinger on the table, "That's why Muzak's so insidious. It gets the subconscious mind."

Fresh and intense

When Stockhausen talked about ideas—physics, psychology, philosophy, electronics — he had an engagement of mind that seemed peculiarly fresh and intense. When a remark struck his interest, the eyes would seem to generate electricity and the lines about them would crinkle as he rambled happily down a new side road.

He was not so eager to talk about his music as about his ideas. Asked about the new piece he is preparing for the New York Philharmonic, he said "I never talk about something I'm working on." He was no more interested in talking about the differences between the two versions of "Kontakte."

"It's very peculiar how that came out," he said. "They are completely different experiences." Then a shrug of the shoulders, and a look that said "Next question, please."

He talked freely, though, of his ideas about music. He was in Santa Barbara to give a tape-lecture on "Momente," and wanted to talk about his concept "moment form." This form is without beginning, middle, or end, and the large units of a work in moment form are theoretically interchangeable.

"It is a way of verticalizing time," he said. "If one thinks of time as a horizontal line, then moment form can be said to expand the moment into a kind of eternity, to pulverize time. It is a way of perceiving time in depth."

Because the entire emphasis of the moment form is on the here and now, Stockhausen regards it as the "lyric mode par excellence."

Precise ideas

Many modern artists say that their art is intuitive, its rightness felt rather than logically justified. But Stockhausen seems to have had a precise idea of his purpose in each of his works and to be able to formulate it in words. He has used the printed word extensively, in fact, to defend and explain his methods.

Perhaps because what he does can be understood rationally, and defended rationally, his music has been criticized for being cerebral, without appeal to the feelings. Asked if he thinks his music should be immediately engaging, be fun, Stockhausen said yes, then reflected and qualified the answer—"But I wouldn't want people to respond only with the emotions. That would be wrong. No, I wouldn't want that."

Stockhausen is obviously concerned about the apparent incompatibility of avant-garde music and audiences. "When I was in Japan," he recalled, "a man in a small town recognized me and introduced himself. He had seen photographs of me, had all the records of my work that are available, and simply knew what was going on."

"The new music," he continued, sounding like a teacher, "is not for a clique. Many more people should be able to respond to it. But they must understand that there is no difference between music for study and music for enjoyment. We are not writing mere entertainment. Those who wish to learn about this music must study constantly, must listen to every disc they can get. The distance between contemporary music and the public is a sign of this society's decadence."

This is the last of 10 weekly pairs of articles.

On the Home Forum page today will be found an essay by Karlheinz Stockhausen.

Before the blackboard

. . . stands Karlheinz Stockhausen, leading young German composer. He is interviewed in the adjoining columns and also writes about some of his latest compositions today on the Home Forum page.

The movie scene

United Artists has announced that it has obtained film rights to the Broadway musical "Fiddler on the Roof." Filming will begin early in 1970: the release date should be in 1971.

"The Odd Couple" has received a warm welcome in London where it is having its first foreign engagement. The film, produced by Paramount pictures, is currently playing throughout the United States.

MGM has begun filming scenes of "Goodbye, Mr. Chips" in Sherborne, Dorsetshire, England. The film will star Petula Clark and Sir Michael Redgrave.

Gregory Peck has been signed by 20th Century-Fox to star in "The AChairman," an espionage story set in Red China. The movie will be directed by Arthur P. Jacobs.

"A Walk with Love and Death," directed by John Huston and starring his daughter Anjelica, has moved its filming location from France to Austria, due to labor problems in France.

"Star!"—a new movie with Julie Andrews portraying Gertrude Lawrence—will premiere in New York on Oct. 22.

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Thousands of Czechs speak out

By Elizabeth Pond
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Prague

"Life is so short," the Czech writer said, "that one gets few chances to help decide the history of mankind by his own voice, his own actions. We are at such a crossroads now, when the voices of everybody may help a little bit.

"Let us speak now and help decide this history so that our children will not be ashamed of us."

She was speaking to a television interviewer at the height of the Soviet-Czech showdown, and she accurately summed up the feeling of many of her countrymen.

It's much more than an aroused nationalism at work here in the consensus of the Czech people against the Soviet demands for an end to democratization in Czechoslovakia. It's a conviction that for once the historical issue is not involuted and ambiguous politics, but fundamental morality.

People speaking out

What is at stake, the Czechs believe, is freedom, the right to speak and search for the truth about the past and the present, the chance to be just and to rectify Czechoslovakia's Stalinist past.

In support of this conviction, the Czech people are speaking out by the tens of thousands, and probably by the hundreds of thousands, if only anyone had the time to compile a total count.

They are giving interviews on television — in which they speak in plain rather than Aesopian language. As individuals and as groups they are sending letters and resolutions to the newspapers, radio, and television — in a ratio, to take the example of one day's mail to the Central Committee, of 2,000 for the firm stand of the Czech leadership, five against.

They are coming to the courtyard outside the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle, where discussion has been going on, to present their petitions soberly and with dignity.

The Czechs are speaking — and signing their names to letters — without any consideration of possible retaliation should the Russians, as quite a few ordinary Czech citizens fear, occupy the country.

Break with silent past?

These are not people who are professionally organized. They are individuals speaking spontaneously. They include people like the tiny elderly woman, half the size of Josef Smrkovsky, one of the Czech leaders who came to the Spanish Hall to give him a carnation for himself and a rose to pass on to Alexander Dubcek, the First Secretary. The whole country is involved and is of a unanimity that is as rare in Czechoslovakia as anywhere else in the modern world.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the extent to which this participation, this willingness to stand up and be counted, is a break with the apathetic and silent past here.

Suddenly this year—and especially this past week—it is as if the Czechs were exorcising the three centuries of history in which they were the docile subjects and bureaucrats of the Austrian Empire and their national symbol was the overly compliant Good Soldier Schwejk.

Young feel guilt

The conscience of Czechs is no more than embarrassed, of course, by the accommodations their ancestors made to more powerful neighbors in past centuries. But the conscience of many does burn acutely over the Stalinist 1950's. Then Czechs tortured, imprisoned, and sometimes murdered other Czechs in a nightmare world against which few spoke out in protest.

The more articulate Czech young people especially feel this guilt today, in the same way that German youth has felt the guilt of its Nazi elders. They yearn to atone for this period, and they see the chance to do so now. This is part and parcel of today's Czech resistance to Soviet demands for an end to freedom of the press and popular participation in political decisions here.

At this moment, the Czechs are very conscious of — and proud of — their role between the two world wars as the one functioning democracy in Central Europe. They are harking back to this tradition now — and to the tradition of that republic's founder, Tomas Masaryk, a man who led the country almost more by his moral stature than by political skill.

This whole renaissance of public feeling in Czechoslovakia — and this widespread personal acceptance of political responsibility — began earlier this year when the new leaders first took over. And the current Soviet attempt to force a stop to this process has instead structured and spread it to include the whole nation.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Red liberals meet in Prague

Czechoslovakia's Communist Party chief Alexander Dubcek, left, talks with French Communist Party leader Waldeck Rechet, right, during the latter's Prague visit. Center is Czech Premier Oldrich Cernik.

Rebuttal to Pravda

NATO disclaims any role in Czech-Soviet crisis

By Carlyle Morgan
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Brussels

Charges by Pravda that the United States has used NATO to stir up trouble for the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia have been officially denied here at the alliance headquarters.

A spokesman for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization said that the statement by the Soviet Communist Party newspaper was completely false.

Privately, top-level officials, among them members of the ruling civilian body of NATO, the North Atlantic Council, went further. They pointed out that involvement by NATO in the Czech crisis would go against the whole trend of NATO efforts for European peace.

Harlan Cleveland, American Ambassador on the council, told this writer July 20, "If we have any deep-dyed plot in this matter, it is to keep well out of it."

American officials cited Secretary of State Dean Rusk's recent statement that the United States was not going to get involved in the Eastern European crisis, "overtly or covertly."

Cooperation accented

Far from wishing to roil relations between the 15-nation Western Alliance and the Soviet Union, NATO is seeking to find new avenues of understanding and cooperation for peace, it was said here. It is playing an active role in the efforts for nuclear arms control and for disarmament which have brought the United States and the Soviet Union together in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty now open for signature in the United Nations and already signed by more than 60 nations. This will prevent spread of nuclear weapons among states which do not now have them.

Quite aside from the NATO assignment to promote détente in Europe and disarmament in the world, any NATO interference in the current crisis in Eastern Europe probably hurt rather than help the Czechs, it was pointed out here. Alliance circles said such interference might only cause reactions in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere in Eastern Europe which would slow down present liberal political trends there.

These trends they say, exist not only in the smaller states of the Warsaw Pact but also in the Soviet Union itself. They have helped make possible the new emphasis on "détente" in addition to defense and deterrence, which now is a prime feature of NATO policy.

For this reason, the letter which Leonid I. Brezhnev, Chief of the Soviet Communist Party, sent to Czech Communist Party secretary Alexander Dubcek July 17, was viewed hopefully here in Brussels. It seemed to point to a relaxation of the Moscow-Prague tension and a continuation of the freer relationships which Moscow and other Eastern European capitals have developed in the last couple of years. This would be in line with Western Alliance hopes for increasing trust between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries and achievement of reliable disarmament measures.

Algerian coup attempt called off

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

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Algiers

A new plot to overthrow President Boumedienne of Algeria and an effort to liberate confined ex-President Ben Bella were postponed just before the July 17 coup d'état in Iraq, it has been learned here.

The leader of the conspiracy, exiled Col. Tahar Zbiri, a former chief of staff, had planned the move to coincide with the visit here of Marshal Andrei A. Grechko, the Soviet Defense Minister. Colonel Zbiri's partisans have stockpiled in the eastern Algerian mountains Soviet arms supplied to the Algerian armed forces, according to Algerian opposition elements.

But Marshal Grechko moved back his visit, originally set for July 9 through 15. He stayed in Moscow for talks with United Arab Republic President Nasser and Gen. Abdel Moneim Riyad, the Egyptian chief of staff.

Marshal Grechko arrived in Algeria July 16 for a week's tour. He began it by visiting Algerian Army camps in the eastern Aurès Mountains, some of whose commanders reportedly are part of the Zbiri conspiracy.

No Soviet role seen

There is no indication whatever that the Soviets are a party to the conspiracy or have, indeed, even had any advance knowledge of it.

[Marshal Grechko cut short his visit to Algeria July 19 and flew back to Moscow, the Associated Press reported. Observers linked his sudden departure with the crisis over Czechoslovakia.]

Colonel Zbiri's partisans say they control about 60 percent of the 70,000-man Algerian armed forces. They are said to have some sympathy from high French circles, which disapprove of President Boumedienne's recent wholesale nationalization of French firms in Algeria and of growing pressure against French oil interests here.

Colonel Zbiri has no special affection for Mr. Ben Bella, whom he personally arrested on Colonel Boumedienne's orders when the latter overthrew Mr. Ben Bella on June 19, 1965.

But he plans Mr. Ben Bella's liberation as an embarrassment to Colonel Boumedienne and to gain support of Mr. Ben Bella's remaining leftist backers.

The liberation of Mr. Ben Bella was planned by Colonel Zbiri as part of his first attempted coup last Dec. 14 and 15. Loyal Air Force and tank units put this down after heavy fighting near Al Afroun, west of Algiers Dec. 15.

Residence moved

The Boumedienne government officially reported that the officer in charge of guarding Mr. Ben Bella, Maj. Said Abid, had committed suicide. Observers in Algeria generally believe he was executed.

Mr. Ben Bella, whom Egyptian commandos tried unsuccessfully to liberate three times in 1965, was subsequently moved to a new place of guarded residence. This is reportedly Ain Taya, a small coastal town about 10 miles east of Algiers.

A new effort to free him, this time by North African leftists based in Morocco, failed this May. Colonel Zbiri hid in the Sahara and the Aurès Mountains after his December, 1967, attempt was crushed. On May 31 he entered Tunisia. President Bourguiba gave him political asylum, stipulating he was not to engage in any political activity.

There was a severe chill in Tunis-Algiers relations. Since December, 1962, Ibrahim ben Tobbal and two other Tunisians who plotted against President Bourguiba at that time have had asylum in Algeria.

On June 22 Tunis announced Colonel Zbiri had left the country. He flew to Switzerland and began talks there and in other European countries with Algerian political exiles. He saw Hocine Ait Ahmed, Belkacem Krim, Mohammed Boudiaf, and Mohammed Lebjaoui. All of these are leaders of the early Algerian revolutionary period who fell out with Colonel Boumedienne and the ruling clique of officers known in Algeria as the "Oujda group." They had helped President Boumedienne and Mr. Ben Bella take power from a base in Oujda, Morocco, in the summer of 1962, just after independence.

On Jan. 24, 1968, an unsuccessful assassination attempt was mounted by opposition elements against Ahmed Kaid, leader of Algeria's ruling political party, the National Liberation Front (FLN). It was followed by strikes and widespread unrest among students and Algeria's estimated 2 million unemployed.

Aide captured

On April 25 men under Colonel Zbiri's command but wearing uniforms of President Boumedienne's guard machine gunned the President's car in Algiers. Colonel Boumedienne escaped with a cut lip. One attacker and one security guard were slain.

Major Amar Mellah of the armored forces, one of Colonel Zbiri's aides, was captured. His scheduled trial twice has been postponed without explanation.

Colonel Zbiri has admitted to confidantes that he has no precise political program after Colonel Boumedienne's projected removal. However, he has said he would not object to Soviet technical organization of the Algerian oil industry, already under way, provided the strong Soviet presence in Algeria does not interfere with his own plans to overthrow Colonel Boumedienne.

Colonel Zbiri has gained control of some of the $16 million in FLN funds in European banks. These were once controlled by Mohammed Khidder, former FLN treasurer who was assassinated in Madrid in January, 1967.

Colonel Zbiri asserts that he can oust Colonel Boumedienne at any time. He contends Colonel Boumedienne has not dared to discipline or transfer many of the high officers of Algeria's five regional Army commands, though some of these showed what was at best doubtful loyalty during the December attempt.

Associates sought

Among Colonel Zbiri's key men now in Algieria and who are being sought by security forces are Majors Haoues Lyachi and Hassounia Moussia of the armed forces. Another is Maj. Cherif Mhamedi, commander of the Colomb Bechar region on the Moroccan frontier.

Colonel Zbiri is a shrewd, tough, and relatively unschooled guerrilla fighter. He lacks well-defined political or ideological leanings. Since he fought inside rather than outside Algeria during the 1954 to 1962 revolution against France, he is supported against the "Oujda group" by such other former "insiders" such as Salah Boubnider of the Constantine area, Mohand al Hadj of the Kabylia Mountains, and Khatib Youssef, once known under the code name of "Si Hassan" of the Algiers region.

Colonel Zbiri also has made contacts with Mohammed Lebjaoui, leader of the Paris-based anti-Boumedienne OCRA (Organization Clandestine de la Révolution Algérienne) and with Abdel Azziz Zerdani.

Quarrel noted

Mr. Zerdani is a former labor minister in open opposition since June, 1967. He now is organizing an underground network in the Aurès Mountains.

Another sign of internal trouble here is a quarrel between Colonel Boumedienne and Interior Minister Ahmed Medeghri over politico-administrative matters in the Oran region.

Inside political observers in North Africa are saying that Colonel Zbiri's next move against President Boumedienne might come during the Organization of African Unit (OAU) summit conference scheduled to open in Algiers Sept. 11.

The conference is expected to deal with the ticklish problem of ex-Congo Premier Moise Tshombe, still jailed in Algeria after his kidnaping last year, and with the Nigerian civil war.

Czechs may buy Iranian oil

By a staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Prague

Czechoslovakia's new reform-minded government—in a first look for raw material resources outside the Communist bloc—has decided to negotiate for the purchase of Iranian oil.

Earlier this year a government mission was in Iran for exploratory discussions. Negotiations now are to be opened on the basis of a program providing for delivery of 20 million tons of oil over the 10-year period 1970-80.

This would be approximately equivalent to a fourth of Czechoslovakia's annual total requirement. It is envisaged that the oil would be shipped to Yugoslav ports and then by pipeline across Yugoslavia and Hungary.

This country is at present dependent on the Soviet Union for about nine-tenths of its oil. It is also tied to the Soviet oil industry by "special purpose" investments (through Comecon, the East Bloc "common market" organization) exceeding $500 million—largely in terms of Czech equipment. This is to be repaid with Soviet oil deliveries starting in 1970.

In May, it was announced that Czechoslovakia will offer to participate in investments in the Soviet chemical industry. Reportedly, a $200 million Czech loan will be part of the oil deal proposed with Iran.

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WOMEN TODAY

With ivory hammer

Auctioneer Etienne Ader in action at Hotel Drouot, Paris. Habitués of the French salesroom come daily to one or more of the 4,000 auctions that are held in Paris each year. Prices for good French antiques are higher in Paris than New York or London. All purchases are covered by the catalogue descriptions, which auctioneers follow.

Auctioneer calls 'Adjugé'

By Phyllis Feldkamp
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

Once the *"téléphone arabe,"* the French version of the grapevine, began to function, every dealer in Paris knew that the huge Biblical painting identified in the catalogue simply as "19th century" was in actual fact a Tiepolo.

When he put the picture up for auction, the owner had thought somebody might take the thing off his hands for around $100. He was staggered when the Paris art world fought over it and it brought $5,600.

Habitués of the French salesrooms of the dusty Hotel Drouot cherish such stories. They are the sort that make people want to come, as some do, daily, to one or more of 4,000 auctions held in Paris each year.

At the Drouot, the atmosphere calls up the darkest passages of Zola. But no matter if the provenance of some of the articles is dreary or even sinister. (Some of the household goods had been seized for sale to reimburse angry creditors.) The countless 19th-century imitations of Louis XV furniture that was so dear to the heart of the Empress Eugénie still please the bourgeois French, many of whom have managed to set up housekeeping by bidding carefully in the Drouot's first-floor rooms.

The second floor is another matter. There go the choice items—signed pieces of Gallé or Tiffany glass, rare butterflies, great porcelains, fine furniture that is reliably *de l'époque* and not just *de style*, the terminology for a copy. The auctioneers, or *Commissaires-Priseurs*, charge 16 percent of the sale price up to $300, 11½ percent from there to $4,000 and 10 percent for any sale above that. Although prices for good French antiques are higher in Paris than in New York or London, buyers here enjoy a comfortable guarantee. All purchases are covered by the catalogue description which is cautiously written by well-qualified experts.

Three times a year the *Compagnie des Commissaires-Priseurs*, founded in 1556 by Henri II, rents a more elegant setting for the sales of the most desirable items of all. It is at the Palais Galliera Museum that the magnificent jewels and museum-quality paintings and pieces of furniture by the great 18th-century cabinetmakers go on the block.

In late June and early July afternoons and evenings at the Palais Galliera are a part of the Paris social round. Pretty women from the 16th *arrondissement* who want to add a pair of sconces to the salon wall or acquire a Louis XV commode sit in the front row and criticize the marquetry.

"Flowers and simple subjects are fashionable now," says auctioneer Jean-Jacques Picard of the firm of Etienne Ader and son. "Boulle of good quality is, to be sure, very much sought after. But chessboard marquetry does not appeal to current taste." However, a superb example in checkerboard patterned wood can soar quickly from a starting price of $20,000 to $51,000 within two minutes.

The ivory hammer came down and the auctioneer called *"Adjugé!"* on one such chest of drawers on June 20. The fact it bore the stamp of the cabinetmaker Criaerd, made a master in 1738, and that its ornamentation of sculptured gilded bronze was marked with a coroneted "C" was a help.

It is curious to some students of the 18th-century French furniture market that roll-top desks are among the most difficult pieces to sell. The capital piece of the period, when furniture in France reached a peak never again equaled, is generally considered to be the cylindrical-topped desk of Louis XV, now at the palace of Versailles. It was started by Jean-François Oeben and after nine years' work finished by the great Jean-Henri Riesener.

"Roll-top desks are very cumbersome," Maitre Picard says. Auctioneers, appointed to their charge by the Ministry of Justice after a stiff examination on their artistic and legal knowledge.

The large international audiences at the Palais Galliera, when the evening painting sales are held, are less pretentious but just as involved in the proceedings as those on the big black-tie nights at Parke-Bernet or Sotheby's. The most intriguing recent sale was that of part of the collection of the poet Guillaume Apollinaire, which included a cubist Picasso oil, *"Homme à la Guitare,"* dated 1918, that the artist gave Apollinaire as a wedding present.

French auctioneers seldom permit themselves the sort of flowery encomia heard from the rostrum in other countries. They stick to the catalogue description. Once or twice during a sale, an assisting expert may remark "extraordinary piece" or clear his throat at a strategic moment during the bidding to point out that an object is "very rare."

Bid or watch

At a recent art world auction, Hotel Drouot audience indicate their bids as in top photo; below, checking their catalogue.

Forquet's view—mainly bias

By Patricia Shelton
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Rome

Buyers who spent all their budget and left Rome without seeing couture collections of Forquet, Carosa, and Tiziani may wish they had saved a few lire and stayed.

New things are happening at all three houses.

Forquet, couturier to a sizable royal clientele, comes through with a definite point of view — and most of it bias. His collection, by far his best in several seasons, is strong on bias gores, often inserted into the straight of the fabric. The result is soft, graceful, pretty.

He also does a lot of raised seaming and welting to highlight shape and cut, a trend that's seeping into Rome.

With Forquet, bias is a valuable asset this season in capes, coats, suit jackets, dresses. Bias gores sometimes run from hemline and end in points at the shoulder.

Capes get a new look with jacket or belted coat fronts.

Wide belts and midriff bands give the relaxed bias-cut silhouette competition, but can't top it. Day colors are usually dark or neutral, with pastels coming in for evening.

One of the best pieces in the lot is a gored, gray tweed knitted suit banded in mink. Another is a brown herringbone tweed with raised seaming.

Other important touchies are his horn belts, use of leather, and smocking. There are some pretty crepes and chiffons for evening, but day is the brightest.

At Carosa, there's new dash and zing with designer Angelo Tarlazzi. He's a very bright young man who Princess Caracciolo (Carosa) says "was born here" eight years ago. He has just returned after three years in Paris and a few months in New York. He had five weeks to put this collection together, including designing many of the fabrics.

Tarlazzi is one of the few Romans who likes color this season, but his best efforts are in black and/or white: two trim little black velvet dinner coats over low-riding pants, with black and white silk blouses, one a diagonal stripe; deep embroidered white late-day coat, collarless and slim, and three black and white op art print silks in ankle length dinner dresses.

However, his fuchsia silk formal dinner gown and coat, scalloped and bordered in white mink, looked marvelously welcome in fall's color dearth.

Tarlazzi was an assistant at Paris Jean Patou, and the French influence is obvious but appealing. He's hoping, he told me, to go back to New York and join Jerry Silverman's design staff, although this would mean not staying at Carosa.

Carosa was one of Rome's first couture houses, opening several years after World War II, in the days when fashion stalwarts said only Paris could have "real couture."

There's a distinct Paris flavor at Tiziani too this season, and it's deliciously smart and elegant, and more colorful than most others.

There's a wagonload of good-looking day and evening clothes, and again the suits and coats are best. The two most important suits are the split level skirt with short jacket banded at the waistline, or the long jacket, belted or unbelted. Fabrics are the finest, workmanship superb. Some of the coats have the famous Balenciaga sleeve seaming at the shoulder — double seam in front but none in back.

Various other "best of Balenciaga" touches appear, which is no surprise since Tiziani took Gerard Penneroux from Balenciaga's regiment when Balenciaga closed up his couture salon a few months ago.

There are also some "best of Texas" touches, also no surprise since Tiziani is Evan Richards, a former opera singer, who grew up in Jacksboro, Texas.

He uses a pony pattern in a beige and brown jersey put together by seaming. He also uses a premium grade of calfskin in a blue ribbon way, with mink.

The line is pretty enough that a woman could order a lot of it sight unseen and not be sorry.

There's no question at this point that Rome is continuing to climb in fashion importance. The Camera Nazionale Della Moda Italiana lists a 40 percent increase in the number of fashion press attending the fall collections. The total is up to 420, about half of what Paris has been listing. Officials said there is no way to determine an increase of buyers or buying this early in the collections.

General trends: shaping close to the body; marked waistlines; soft fabrics; much bias flare, but restrained and often low; and no change in hemlines.

Hip-high boots are the most fashionable footwear going for daywear, and hats can be little bubbles or big berets, but they must be something. Although novelties, the cape and the dress over pants are nevertheless significant.

One of the two best sellers at Valentino is a full circle white double-faced cashmere cape. The other is a dress in embroidered black velvet.

Of all the fashion shows in Rome, American Ken Scott, who hangs his new boy hat in Milan, staged the biggest and best. He and the Bancroft Company rented a circus tent and the acts to go with it and had their own "greatest show on earth," starring Ban-Lon featherweight jersey, polyester crepe, ciré, satin jersey, chiffon, and minicare cotton in a Ken Scott fall collection. A feast followed, with dancing. A smash hit in all directions.

British food firms continue salesdrive

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

As part of a continuing sales drive in the United States British food firms will again make a strong showing at the National Fancy Food and Confection Show to be held in the New York Coliseum, August 4-7. The joint display by nine firms will be sponsored by the British Food Export Council, with British Government support according to British Information Services.

Britain's food exports to the U.S. during the first three months of 1968 showed an increase of more than 25 percent over the same period the previous year. However, Britain's food imports from the U.S. still far exceed her exports to this country; in 1967, United Kingdom imports from U.S. were $245 million, while exports were only $29 million.

The firms exhibiting at the 1968 National Fancy Food Show will display such delicacies as Highland creamed haggis, Scottish haddock fillets, soft herring roes, roast grouse, pheasant stuffed with truffled pâté, and a range of confectionery and novelties.

In addition, many well known British firms, in conjunction with their U.S. distributors, will exhibit fine foods ranging from creamed tripe and onions, a traditional British delicacy, to cheeses, jams, preserves, and confectionery.

coming features

Getting Ready for School Again
The Women's Page focuses on getting young people ready for their return to school, with articles on college dress, teen gear, children's wear, lunch ideas, good grooming, and makeup. A week of back-to-school features, beginning
MONDAY, AUG. 5

Mao Maneuvers To Retain Power
Is Mao Tse-tung's "cultural revolution" a device to retain his grasp on the controls in Communist China? Dr. Stephen Pan, director of the East Asian Research Institute, analyzes the prospects as the ninth Chinese Communist Party congress looms.
TUESDAY, JULY 30

But Is It Cricket?
England's "national pastime" hasn't made much headway in America. A four-part series traces the history and development of the gentlemanly sport of cricket, with a guarded look at its future, beginning
FRIDAY, JULY 26

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Cooperstown adds a unique library

SPORTS

By Ed Rumill

Chief sports columnist of The Christian Science Monitor

Cooperstown, N.Y.

With the big-league map stretching from coast to coast and almost from border to border, there has been idle talk of moving the National Baseball Museum and Hall of Fame to some more central location.

But it would be a sad mistake; and, anyway, it is not going to happen. This charming mountain village on Otsego Lake will remain the heart of the game of baseball forever.

It was Ford Frick, when commissioner, who said: "We make no claim that this, beyond all doubt, is the place where the first baseball game was played. But we do say that Cooperstown is the typical sort of American town where baseball could have first been played."

National Baseball Library

The Frick approach has been widely accepted and applauded by the people of baseball, and there the matter stands. And so year after year, as the game's expanding history unfolds, Cooperstown becomes richer and deeper in baseball tradition and memento.

Through the everlasting energies of men like Paul Kerr, Kenny Smith, and Lee Allen, the brick shrine on Main Street continues to burst at the seams in an ever-broadening display of colorful souvenirs relating to the great players, officials, and games of the past.

Paul Kerr, president of the Museum and Hall of Fame, has never received the credit he deserves for his role in the development of the shrine. He is the sort who prefers to stay in the background. But an operation of this kind could never flourish without the unselfish hours that are contributed by a gentleman of his dedication.

Kenny Smith, the museum's director and Lee Allen, its historian, are also making major contributions to the "home of baseball." They have been working overtime in recent months, getting Coopertown's latest project ready for dedication — the National Baseball Library.

Dedicated to communications

"We're all very excited about the new library," said Smith, a former New York baseball writer. "The dedication ribbon is cut [July 22] and the doors will be open to the public as soon as possible."

The new library, located directly behind the Museum and Hall of Fame, is dedicated to the communications of baseball. The ground floor is devoted to exhibits, the upper floor to the records of major-league players dating back to 1871. The second floor is open to the public only on request for research.

However, it is the first floor that will interest the parade of fans who will invade later this month. Of special interest will be the moving pictures and recordings of players and events highlighting past pennant races, World Series, and all-star games.

Exhibits relating to the writing, photographing, broadcasting, and telecasting arts are on display. There are paintings as well as photographs. There are a great many recordings of play-by-play action of historic moments.

The librarian is Jack Redding, who formerly held that position with the old New York Herald-Tribune. He works closely with Lee Allen, who as historian has collected and compiled most of the personal records of the ballplayers.

Movies for the fans

"We've been working for about five years on a series of motion pictures," Kenny Smith continued. "We've worked with old newsreels and other movies made available to us. It's quite a tricky job, blending music and voice description into the pictures. But now we're almost ready.

"What we plan are four shows of about 30 minutes each," Kenny explained. "We'll show one picture in the morning and another in the afternoon — all free to visitors. We think they'll enjoy them."

Although the library is still being readied, several requests for research have already been honored and will continue to be. "We don't like to turn anybody away," Smith added.

The main function of this Hall of Fame weekend, however, was the induction into the Hall of three more stars of yesteryear. Prior to the Monday exhibition game between the Pittsburgh Pirates and Detroit Tigers at Doubleday Field, Joe Medwick, Goose Goslin, and Kiki Cuyler joined the lengthening list of greats in the shrine.

Medwick and Goslin came here. Cuyler passed on some years ago.

Ken Arnold, a baseball fan of many years, hosted the diamond crowd at The Otesaga Hotel, as usual.

World sports in brief

Track and field

London

Vera Nikolic of Yugoslavia set a world record for the women's 800 meters clocking 2 minutes, 0.5 seconds. She clipped half a second off the previous record of 2:01.0 set by Australian Judy Pollock in Helsinki last year.

Tennis

London

Mrs. Ann Haydon Jones was told Saturday that she cannot compete in this week's English County championships at Eastbourne because she is a pro—even though the British Lawn Tennis Association makes no distinction between amateurs and professionals.

Her banning, because she is promoter-controlled, has touched off the biggest sports squabble of the summer here. Mrs. Jones, currently in California, is under contract to George MacCall of Los Angeles.

Mrs. Jones had planned to return to England to represent Warwickshire County.

Although the BLTA recognizes only players, the International Tennis Federation holds that professionals may compete in only a restricted number of Opens. In this case, the BLTA bowed to the ILTF rules.

Football

New York

The New York Jets traded backup quarterback Mike Taliaferro to the Boston Patriots for veteran quarterback Babe Parilli.

Auto racing

Brands Hatch, England

Jo Siffert of Switzerland, driving a Lotus-Ford, won the British Grand Prix here.

Bond Photo

In for a landing

Anita Neil, international long jumper and British Olympic prospect, sends the sand flying as she hits the pit on a practice jump.

Vigh fulfills soccer promise

By Alan Grayson

Sports writer of The Christian Science Monitor

About 12 years ago a couple of outstanding young soccer players were on the roster of the Ferencvaros club of Budapest. Great things were predicted for both of them, but Tibor Vigh was reckoned to have even greater potential than Florian Albert.

Then came the Hungarian Revolution. Albert remained in Budapest while Vigh fled to Canada with an older brother and sister.

Ten years later Albert was a star of Hungary's World Cup team, and in 1967 he was named European Player of the Year. Meanwhile Vigh, a naturalized Canadian, played as an amateur for such teams as Windsor (Ont.) Teutonia and New York Hungarians.

Vigh hardly believed the opportunity would come, but he'd never lost the desire to become a professional. So, with the advent of the North American Soccer League this year, he became the first player to sign for the Houston Stars, who are coached by Geza Henni, another Hungarian expatriate.

'Poor people's sport

The escape from obscurity is allowing Tiby to realize much of his potential. He's one of the league's leading goalscorers and recently was selected to the NASL coaches' second all-star team. Even so, he's still playing before smaller crowds in the Astrodome than those which turned out in Budapest to watch him as a teen-age whiz kid!

"In Houston we've got a lot of Mexicans who are soccer fans," Vigh said, "but unfortunately they don't come to our games. Don't forget soccer is a poor people's sport, and if they're only earning around $70 a week how can they afford $2.50 to watch a game?"

You can't overlook Vigh on a soccer field. His shock of blond hair and startlingly blue eyes (which make him appear more Scandinavian than Hungarian) attract attention. But he's also a hustling six-foot 165-pounder who has quickly mastered the intricacies of playing on the Astrodome's artificial grass.

"There aren't too many problems, except the turf maybe slows you down," explained the Stars' center-forward and captain. "Visiting teams find they can't run so fast because there's more danger of tripping yourself and getting a rug burn.

Lack 100 percent effort

"Another thing is that the ball tends to stick to the turf. So when you pass to a teammate you have to pass the ball stronger than you would outside. But I don't think this affects our play when we go on the road," Vigh added.

Tiby Vigh

. . . sort of two-way player a coach likes

Most NASL teams, including Houston, have several Europeans on their rosters. Without mentioning any names, Vigh (pronounced Veegk) is concerned that many of these players are not giving 100 percent effort in the United States.

He feels that back in Europe they would be more careful not to repeat foolish mistakes. There the coach would have plenty of reserve talent vying for a first-team place. But in the NASL a lack of depth on the bench may force a coach to persevere with the offender.

No lack-of-effort charge could ever be leveled against Vigh. He's the sort of two-way player that a coach likes to have on the team.

"First of all I always try to get away from the guy who's marking me," Tiby said. "In other words, a center-forward always has to be moving. You can't play the position by just standing there and waiting for the ball.

'Just keep him busy'

"But if the opposing center-half sticks really close to me, I make sure I take him out of the game as well. If he moves into position so his goalkeeper could throw the ball to him, I go toward him just to keep him busy and make sure he doesn't start anything," he continued.

"You have to stop him just as much as he has to stop you, so I start my defensive assignment from our opponents' 18-yard line. But a lot of forwards seem to forget this is part of their duties."

Vigh's hopes of ever representing Hungary were dashed in 1956. But he's just been invited to play for Canada's national team in the World Cup qualifying rounds later this year.

That makes it all seem worthwhile—even the fact he's earning less now than he made as a tool-and-die worker the past few years!

Peasant gap develops

Iranian land reform has nettles

By James A. Bill

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

Iran seems to tower as a bastion of security and stability alongside other nations of West Asia.

Few persons seem to realize that Iran itself is caught in a bitter struggle of change. The Iranian political elite has been racing to channel change in some areas while maneuvering to slow it in others.

Iran is governed by a King who is so unmonarchical as to have written a book on revolution. Under his leadership, Iran has become the scene of internationally publicized land-reform and literacy programs. These two programs, plus seven other points, make up Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's nine-point reform program which, in turn, forms the backbone of his "white revolution."

The Shah's program of reform, it has been found, requires careful and objective analysis—analysis which must take into account the human as well as the progressive considerations—so that too-rapid advances in one sector do not upset delicate balances in another.

A Tehran University professor puts it this way:

2,000-year heritage

"The changes taking place in Iran are not new or fundamental, for 2,000 years ago Iran led the world in the construction of superdams, gigantic road networks, and efficient bridges. Our Royal Mail system was unparalleled and unprecedented."

The land-reform program is the linchpin of the "white revolution." The Iranian press heralds it as the device through which "feudalism" was destroyed in Iran. Even the most cynical skeptics can no longer deny that land redistribution has taken place throughout the country. Much of the local power and influence of the big landlords have been undercut and peasants have received land. Once initiated, the land-reform program could not be stopped. Its long-range effects have scarcely begun to be felt.

Among the basic difficulties that remain to be solved in line with this program must be listed the following:

- The widening gap that has been becoming more and more visible between those peasants who have received land and those who have not.
- The inability already of the peasants to keep up their payments (more than 200 peasants in the Qazvin area of Iran have been imprisoned for this).
- And the glaring lack of technicians, agronomists, engineers, and cooperative managers in the countryside.

This last point is crucial. In the absence of the old landlord the peasant needs guidance. In the few places where qualified agronomists and agricultural engineers have been available, the results have been seen not only in terms of the peasant's improved living but in an unparalleled level of production as well.

Literacy expanded

While 7,600 village cooperatives have been officially established, there are only 1,200 co-op directors, and these were hurriedly trained in special three-month courses. Now suddenly this entire cooperative system is on the verge of being discarded and the Shah is considering a system of collective farms. It would seem that change in the countryside relating to land reform has just begun and already may be veering out of control.

During these last few years of land-reform execution, rural Iran has also been the scene of an influx of commissioned young personnel. Thousands of Literacy, Health, and Extension Corpsmen have been trained and sent to the provinces.

By far the most important of these in terms of number and activity has been the widely heralded Literacy Corps. Young high-school graduates have been conscripted to go into the countryside and teach the villagers basic literacy. In the four years the program has been in effect, some 35,000 young Iranians have served in this capacity. Like the land-reform program, the Literacy Corps has left a positive imprint upon the Iranian landscape.

Both the literacy and land-reform programs have become sacred in ruling-class circles. Even constructive criticism of them is considered destructive criticism of the regime.

Nonetheless questions are being raised with regard to the literacy program. In addition to the inevitable problems connected with suddenly bringing an inadequately trained young outsider into a village community and investing him with great authority, there are more pressing questions dealing with the effects of his work.

- How does assisting villagers to become literate and semiliterate help them in their everyday struggle for food and shelter? Besides a need to help them become functionally literate, one must begin planning to meet the new occupational and educational demands that they are already beginning to make.
- Once the villagers have become literate they ask to continue their elementary education and, more important yet, they are demanding to go on to secondary school—a level of education already overflowing with students and gravely lacking in teachers.
- Thus, although some of the short-term implications of this program have been explored (an important one being to scatter the restless unemployed masses of high-school graduates throughout the countryside rather than having them wander the streets of Tehran), little thought has been given to the long-term consequences.

One of two articles on Iran, the other dealing with political reforms in the countryside.

'Our feete get veree red'

Early settlers on the Eastern seaboard of the United States marveled at the abundance and vigor of the native strawberry plant.

"Wee cannot sett downe a foote but tred on strawberries," wrote a Maryland colonist.

Power balance seen in UN as crux of Czech crisis

By Mario Rossi

Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

United Nations, N.Y.

Developments in Czechoslovakia are causing a great deal of uneasiness at the United Nations.

In fact, diplomats have found little else to talk about in recent days.

The problem is being examined here under the aspect of its political implications and repercussions. It is widely assumed in these diplomatic circles that the ideological aspect undoubtedly exists, but is secondary.

The Soviets are seen as anxious to establish a working understanding with the United States in order to finally do away with the remnants of the cold war.

This policy, however, is based upon the existence of a balance of power that a switch in Czechoslovakia could seriously affect.

"The Soviet Union might intervene in Czechoslovakia for the same reason that the United States intervened in Vietnam—to preserve the status quo," an experienced Western diplomat stated.

He added: "The United States is not willing to see a non-Communist country go Communist and the Soviets are not willing to see a Communist country go non-Communist. That is the political reality. American statements about fighting aggression and Soviet pronouncements about socialist solidarity are mere window-dressing."

The impression at the United Nations is that a desertion of Czechoslovakia from the Soviet camp would be seen by the Soviet Union not only as a loss of prestige but an actual shift of the balance of power in favor of the United States.

If that happened, diplomats say, the Soviet Union would feel threatened in its own security.

Czechoslovakia, it is pointed out here, is far more vital to the security of the Soviet Union than Vietnam to that of the United States.

Diplomats believe that perhaps the Soviet Union would not be so anxious if Czechoslovakia were not the only country of the Eastern European bloc, apart from East Germany, to have a common border with West Germany.

Soviet sources at the UN have pointed out since the inception of the crisis that if the Czechoslovaks sought support from Bonn, Moscow would react violently.

The Soviet Union still views West Germany as a powerful and threatening American outpost in Europe.

East European sources say that Moscow is even more concerned with trends in Prague than in Belgrade or Bucharest.

"The Yugoslavs and the Romanians may make themselves obnoxious with their nationalism and independence, but there is no question about the sincerity of their Communist faith," an Eastern European diplomat said. "But we doubt the faith of the Czechs and that is a very serious problem."

He added: "In a crisis involving the survival of the socialist world, we know for sure that the Yugoslavs and the Romanians will be with us. The Czechs may not be if the present trend continues. That explains why Moscow is reacting so strongly."

The diplomat felt that if the United States is interested in working out a broad agreement with the Soviet Union, it has no reasons to welcome an upset of the equilibrium which would make it impossible for Moscow to continue negotiating.

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The composer on his work

Composing new sound-structures

In the first work in which I combined instrumental and electronic music, KONTAKTE for electronic sounds, piano and percussion (1959-60), a four-track tape of electronic music is played back over loudspeakers while two instrumentalists are performing. The tape runs right through the work, from start to finish; the musicians read the score — in which the electronic music can be followed exactly—and play the instrumental parts, which are also notated down to the smallest detail.

My original plan was to let the musicians react to the electronic music in a way that would vary from one performance to another, and also to make the playback of the electronic music independent of the pattern of performance followed by the instrumentalists, by stopping and starting the tape recorder, by varying the dynamics and by closing and opening individual channels. After several attempts this had to be abandoned during the preparations for the first performance.

The aim of my deliberations was quite clear to me: instrumentalists should be given a basic material, differentiated and structured in all musical features; the instrumentation would then be of secondary importance, provided that it contained a complexity sufficient for the transformations for which it was intended.

♪ ♪ ♪

Several times since 1960 I had theoretically formulated, as a possible synthesis of instrumental and electronic music, the separation and supplementation of sounds produced by instrumentalists and a *simultaneous* transformation of the sounds by electronic equipment—also performed by musicians—with simultaneous playback over loudspeakers.

In recent years there have actually been a number of such attempts—especially in the field of popular music — in amplifying instruments with contact or normal microphones, producing a change in timbre and thus a distortion, by adding echo, and so on. Popular musicians call such results very appropriately "gags." I have always found such effects superficial, as they only add to the supply of normal instrumental colors some new variants, which very soon sound just as banal and obvious as the instrumental sounds used previously.

In the summer of 1964 I composed two works. The first was MIXTUR for orchestra and ring-modulators, during the performance of which the sounds from 5 instrumental groups, together comprising a normal orchestra, are picked up—each one independently — by microphones; the microphones are connected with ring-modulators, in which the sound is modulated in timbre, rhythm, dynamic level and pitch by means of sine-wave generators, which are operated by musicians according to indications in the score; the result is played back over 5 loudspeaker groups, simultaneously with the original orchestral sound.

After completing the score of MIXTUR for orchestra and ring-modulators, I began to search for possibilities of also composing in a flexible way the process of picking up sounds by microphones. The microphone has, up to now, been treated as a lifeless, passive recording instrument for the purpose of obtaining a sound playback that is as faithful as possible: now it had also to become a musical instrument, and be used to affect *all* the aspects of sound: thus it must be able to give form, independently, to pitch, harmonically and melodically, and to rhythm, dynamic level, timbre and spatial projection of sound, according to composed indications.

The next work that I composed was MIKROPHONIE I for tamtam, 2 microphones, 2 filters and potentiometers. Some years previously I had bought myself a large tamtam for my composition MOMENTE, and set it up in my garden.

In the summer of 1964 I made some experiments, exciting the tamtam with a great variety of objects—made of glass, cardboard, metal, wood, rubber, plastic—that I collected from around the house, and connected a microphone (with strong directional sensitivity) that I held in my hand and moved, to an electrical filter, whose output led to a potentiometer and then to a loudspeaker. My collaborator Spek changed the filter and potentiometer settings, improvising. At the same time we recorded the result on tape. The recording of this first experiment was for me a discovery of the greatest importance. We had made no agreement about what each other would do; I used some of the available objects as the mood took me, and at the same time I probed the surface of the tamtam with the microphone, like a doctor with a stethoscope; Spek also reacted spontaneously to what he heard as the result of our combined activity.

♪ ♪ ♪

On the basis of this experiment I then wrote the score of MIKROPHONIE I. Two players excite the tamtam with a great variety of materials, two more players "scan" the tamtam with microphones; an appropriate notation indicates the distance between the microphone and the tamtam (which influences dynamic level and timbre), the relative distance of the microphone from the point of excitation (which determines pitch, timbre and particularly the spatial impression of the sound—from very distant through resonant to extremely close) and the rhythm in which the movements of the microphone are made. Two further players each operate an electrical filter and a potentiometer, and in turn they reshape the timbre and pitch (by means of the filter settings), dynamic level and spatial effect (through the combination of filter settings and dynamic level) and the rhythm of the structures (by means of the temporal changes notated for the two pieces of equipment).

In this way three mutually dependent, mutually interacting and simultaneously autonomous processes of sound-structuring are connected with each other, which were composed as synchronous or temporally independent, homophonic or in up to six polyphonic layers.

MIKROPHONIE I was first performed in Brussels on December 9, 1964, and is dedicated to Alexander Schlee.

After MIKROPHONIE I my next composition was MIKROPHONIE II. In this work I attempted a synthesis of vocal and electronic music. In the composition GESANG DER JÜNGLINGE (1956) I had mixed sounds and syllables, sung by a twelve-year-old boy and recorded on tape, with electronically produced sounds, which required a protracted montage process. All the work took place in the electronic music studio, and resulted in a four-track tape, which can be heard only through the medium of loudspeakers.

In GESANG DER JÜNGLINGE no kind of alteration of the sung sounds was put into practice. In MIKROPHONIE II, however, a transformation of the vocal sounds by means of electronic equipment takes place *during* the performance. Twelve choir singers (six soprani, six basses) sit on the podium in a semicircle during the performance, with their backs to the public (they could also sit in the middle of the hall, surrounded by the audience). Each group of three singers—three first soprani, three second soprani, three first basses and three second basses—has a directional microphone in front of it. The choir conductor sits in the middle of the semicircle, facing the public, and conducts individual layers of the completely polyphonically composed music. Beside him sits a timekeeper, who indicates to the choir with corresponding hand movements the durations of the 33 musical moments. [Translator's note: a moment, in Stockhausen's terminology, is an "independent musical structure"—see in the text for MIKROPHONIE I, although in the present work they are through-composed and not "mobile."] Behind the singers, somewhat elevated, stands a Hammond organ, with the organist facing the public. The technical principle of the timbre composition is as follows: the four microphones are connected with four so-called ring-modulators, and the electrical output of the Hammond organ is also connected with all four ring-modulators.

♪ ♪ ♪

It is very important to me that the transformation of the choir sounds in MIKROPHONIE II occurs in different gradations, and that — often simultaneously — untransformed layers are mixed with layers which are transformed to a greater or lesser extent; and that at other times there are transitions from natural to artificial sound, and vice versa. In contrast to pure electronic music, music like MIKROPHONIE II gives greater possibilities for the composition of relationships in a scale from natural to artificial sound, from familiar (describable) to unfamiliar (undescribable).

♪ ♪ ♪

One of the most important reasons for exploring such methods of timbre composition lies—as in all new music, especially electronic—in the desire to compose a unique and unmistakable sound world for a work, and no longer to maintain the old contradiction which states that in composition the What doesn't matter so much—that is, for example, the material (in this case, choir and organ sounds)—it is rather the How—how one composes with such sounds—that is important. In a work like MIKROPHONIE II the What is inseparable from the How: I would never have composed *how* I did, if the What had not already possessed completely specific and, for this work, valid properties, which led to definite types of How.

Unusual things were required of the singers. Each one had not only to be able to sing well, but also to find for himself melodic, rhythmic and dynamic articulation with different variations, based on my indications. The organist had to decide from the context when and how much electronic transformation should be produced by changes in dynamic level. The method of notation used, with words and few notes, can result in a lively exchange between all the performers.

The first performance of MIKROPHONIE II was given on June 11, 1965, in a concert "Musik der Zeit" at Cologne Radio.

KARLHEINZ STOCKHAUSEN

Translated by Hugh Davies

A biographical sketch of Karlheinz Stockhausen appears on today's Arts and Entertainment page.

This is the concluding article in the series "The composer on his work." The preceding articles appeared on May 20 and 27, June 3, 10, 17, 24, July 1, 8, and 15.

By courtesy of City Art Museum of Saint Louis

BUST OF VICTOR HUGO: *Bronze by Auguste Rodin (1840-1917)*

A British champion of the sculpture of Auguste Rodin, W. E. Henley, wrote of Rodin's bust of Victor Hugo: "Here are the venerable beauty, the rugged majesty, the force, the fire, the victorious energy of one unmatched among contemporary men. It is much to have had a model compacted of such qualities; that was the sculptor's fortune. It is much more to have portrayed them with such a union of force and finish, such unerring insight, and such superb distinction of style; that is the sculptor's genius. It is not the least of the many felicities of M. Hugo's career that he has lived to pass to posterity as the original of what might be an antique bronze."

Rodin had himself described to Henley the circumstances in which he produced the bust of Hugo: "He has not—what is called—posed; but I have lived with him, lunching or driving or frequenting his soirées for the last four months, with the bust at his house, which allowed me to work there always."

Apart from the original plaster model, Rodin made drawings of the 19th-century literary figure which have been lost; also a drypoint etching; and later in his career he worked on two monuments of Hugo. Numerous versions of the bust exist in both bronze and marble. The bronze version shown here has recently been given to the City Art Museum of Saint Louis by Mrs. Ellis Mallinckrodt. The museum's bulletin describes it as "an extremely fine and early cast undoubtedly made under Rodin's supervision."

CHRISTOPHER ANDREAE

Latterly

Much May-swell may
in June subside.
Later, catalpa,
a white wave-pride,
lets me wade, high-storeyed,
binocular-eyed,
down where she surfs
the Cambridge-side.
Bless her delay.

NORMA FARBER

A swarm of bees

It was a great and satisfying day when the bees swarmed and left the hive to find new quarters in the woods. They picked the bright hot hours deep in the summer of the year for their moving day.

I watched the preparation getting under way at midmorning. The sun was already hot, and the swarming bees started to cluster on the small limb of a cherry tree not far from the hive. The cluster grew to great proportions as more and more of the bees added to the formation on the limb, a tender branch that bent and sagged under the weight of the bees. But the small branch held, and the cluster grew.

There was a humming activity of wings all around the tree that stood by a rose near the lane. It was moving day, and there was work to be done before the sweeping wings would carry them through the heat and the sun to a new home.

I walked close to the clustered mass to watch and listen, intrigued by the organization of the swarm, pleased by the humming song of whirring wings. Then I sat back in a dooryard chair to watch and to wait.

Early in the afternoon, a great surge of activity suddenly burst from the giant cluster. Bees began to take to their wings; the tender branch of the young cherry tree began to ease, and to lift. The swirling swarm rose into the sky and passed directly overhead. I saw them in the sun.

The flight seemed well arranged and planned. I noted how the swarm rose higher in the sky, to miss the tallest of the trees in the edge of the woods. It was not long before the trees hid from my view the swirling swarm, sweeping through the afternoon toward a new home somewhere in the woods.

LANSING CHRISTMAN

The safest, happiest place to be

Written for The Christian Science Monitor

"He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty." The tender, reassuring ninety-first Psalm reveals a practical haven for mankind. Through the centuries many have found that the secret place is the safest, happiest place to be.

What is this secret place? It is the awareness of God's omnipresence, or allness, the consciousness of the invincible truths of God and man. In the warm peace and joy of this dwelling place we find man to be the perfect likeness, or expression, of infinite Spirit, Love, and thus forever linked with his creator. To one well acquainted with this secret place trials become opportunities to maintain the clear consciousness of man's real identity, to dwell in this holy place that is available to everyone at all times.

While on her way to work, a student of Christian Science fell and wrenched her ankle severely. Despite much pain, she immediately lifted her thought above the accident to the fact that her true being was comprised of divine Spirit's ideas and good qualities and hence could not be injured. She affirmed that all real substance is Spirit, God, the one Life, who exists wholly apart from supposititious matter; that therefore substance and Life are not subject to physical hazards or hardship.

♪ ♪ ♪

She was grateful that neither her fellow workers nor later her family noticed her difficulty in walking, and she was free to work out her problem alone with God in the secret place. She learned that when one resorts to spiritual means for healing, he proves the truth of the Apostle Paul's statement that man's life is hid in God (see Colossians 3:3).

As she continued to dwell in the truth, she remembered that she had been going along with the other employees in resenting an executive ruling. Eager to express her true, Godlike nature, she endeavored to purify her thought of the belief that man is an unfair mortal rather than the individual expression of divine Love. Within a short time not only was the ruling changed, but the injured ankle healed. By dwelling in the secret place, which includes practicing the truth, she had blessed everyone concerned. Christian Science emphasizes that abiding in a loving regard for one's neighbor as the likeness of impartial, divine Love always heals and blesses.

The Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy, writes, "The 'secret place,' whereof David sang, is unquestionably man's spiritual state in God's own image and likeness, even the inner sanctuary of divine Science, in which mortals do not enter without a struggle or sharp experience, and in which they put off the human for the divine" ("The First Church of Christ, Scientist, and Miscellany," p. 244).

♪ ♪ ♪

Christ Jesus well knew the benefits to be gained from private, heartfelt communion with God. He said, "When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly" (Matthew 6:6).

What a happy place of refuge are the spiritual truths of perfect God and perfect man! As boundless Life, God continuously manifests in spiritual man the beauty, order, freedom, and light of His own limitless energy, activity, and intelligence. Thus we are not beleaguered mortals subject to accident, deterioration, enfeeblement, nor are we fettered by false beliefs. The absolute truth is that as children of the most High we abide now and forever in the secret place—spiritual consciousness. We never leave it!

[Elsewhere on the page may be found a translation of this article in Norwegian. Once a month an article on Christian Science appears in a Norwegian translation.]

Det tryggeste og beste sted å være

[This is a Norwegian translation of "The safest, happiest place to be," appearing on this page]

Oversettelse av den religiøse artikkelen som finnes på engelsk på denne side
[En norsk oversettelse forekommer på denne side én gang om måneden]

"Den som dveler i den Høiestes skjul, skal bo i den Allmektiges skygge" (efter engelsk Bibel). Den kjærlige, tillitvekkende 91.de Salme åpenbarer en tilflukt av praktisk betydning for menneskeheten. Gjennom århundrene har mange funnet at dette tilfluktssted er det tryggeste og beste sted å være.

Hva og hvor er dette tilfluktssted? Det er erkjennelsen av Guds allestedsnærvær, eller allhet, bevisstheten om de uovervinnelige sannheter om Gud og mennesket. I denne tilflukts inderlige fred og glede ser vi at mennesket er den fullkomne lignelse, eller uttrykket, for uendelig Ånd, Kjærlighet, og derfor i all evighet knyttet til sin skaper. For den som er fortrolig med dette tilfluktssted, blir prøvelser bare anledninger til å bevare den klare bevissthet om menneskets virkelige identitet, anledninger til å bo på dette hellige sted som er tilgjengelig for alle og enhver til alle tider.

En Kristen Videnskap-studerende som var på vei til sitt arbeide, falt og forvred ankelen sin alvorlig. Til tross for store smerter, løftet hun øyeblikkelig sine tanker opp over uhellet til erkjennelsen av at hennes sanne liv bestod av Åndens guddommelige idéer og gode egenskaper, og derfor ikke kunne skades. Hun erklærte at all virkelig substans er Ånd, Gud, det ene Liv, som består helt adskilt fra såkalt materie, og at substans og Liv derfor ikke er underlagt fysiske tilfeldigheter og vanskeligheter.

♪ ♪ ♪

Hun var takknemlig for at hverken hennes kolleger, eller senere hennes familie la merke til at hun hadde vanskelig for å gå; hun kunne derfor uhindret utarbeide sitt problem alene med Gud, i den Høyestes skjul. Hun lærte å forstå at når man tar sin tilflukt til åndelige midler for å bli helbredet, beviser man sannheten i det apostelen Paulus sier om at menneskets liv er skjult i Gud (se Kolossenserne 3:3).

Efter som hun vedble å dvele i sannheten, kom hun til å tenke på at hun hadde sluttet seg til de øvrige ansattes bitterhet over en forordning fra firmaets ledelse. Fordi hun så gjerne ville uttrykke sin sanne, Gud-like natur, søkte hun å frigjøre sine tanker fra den tro at mennesket er et urettferdig dødelig vesen, istedenfor det individuelle uttrykk for guddommelig Kjærlighet. I løpet av ganske kort tid ble ikke bare bestemmelsen forandret, men også den skadede ankel helbredet. Ved å dvele i den Høyestes skjul, som også innebærer det å bruke sannheten, hadde hun velsignet alle som var berørt. Kristen Videnskap understreker at å være fylt av kjærlig omtanke for sin neste, og å se ham som den upartiske, guddommelige Kjærlighets lignelse, alltid vil helbrede og velsigne.

Oppdageren og Grunnleggeren av Kristen Videnskap*, Mary Baker Eddy, skriver: "'Den Høiestes skjul', som David sang om, er utvilsomt menneskets åndelige status i Guds eget billede og i Hans lignelse, selve den guddommelige Videnskaps innerste helligdom, som dødelige ikke får adgang til uten gjennom kamp eller bitter erfaring, og i hvilken de avlegger det menneskelige for det guddommelige." ("The First Church of Christ, Scientist, and Miscellany", s.244)

♪ ♪ ♪

Kristus Jesus var vel kjent med de velsignelser man kunne få gjennom lønnlig og inderlig samfunn med Gud. Han sa: "Når du beder, da gå inn i ditt lønnkammer og lukk din dør og bed til din Fader, som er i lønndom, og din Fader, som ser i lønndom, han skal lønne dig i det åpenbare." (Matteus' evangelium 6:6)

Hvilket velsignet tilfluktssted er ikke den åndelige sannhet om fullkommen Gud og fullkomment menneske! Som uendelig Liv, manifesterer Gud uopphørlig i det åndelige menneske den skjønnhet, orden, frihet og det lys som utgjør Hans egen ubegrensede kraft, virksomhet og intelligens. Derfor er vi ikke ufrie dødelige, som er underlagt ulykkeshendelser, forfall og svekkelse, og vi er heller ikke bundet av falske forestillinger. Den absolutte sannhet er at som den Høyestes barn bor vi for alltid i Hans skjul—i åndelig bevissthet. Vi forlater det aldri!

**Christian Science* Utgaves Kristjen Balens.*

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DU KAN
HJELPE
EN VENN

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Weekend Issue *Second Section*
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Civil disobedience: shape of debate...

From the halls of ivy to the chambers of government, civil disobedience is exerting significant influence today on policies and lives. This summing-up page, last of three on the subject, touches on the dimensions and impact of this mode of dissent—and the controversy stemming from it.

By George Moneyhun
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEVER HAS THERE BEEN A TIME WHEN CIVIL disobedience was more widely practiced, denounced, misunderstood, and argued than today. Headlines in recent months tell why:

New York—Students take over campus.

Paris—Workers and students stage nationwide strikes.

Boston—War protesters burn draft cards.

Brussels—Farmers by the thousand march on capital.

Washington—Negroes riot and loot.

Such current modes of dissent and attempts to persuade or change the policies of governments and private institutions have given rise to widespread concern over the philosophy and practice of civil disobedience. For the first time many people, Americans in particular, are taking a long, hard look at just what civil disobedience means and are asking: How far should "moral objectors" be allowed to go? What impact are such demonstrations having on society?

A number of churches have taken stands for civil disobedience in recent years. Among them was the General Conference of the United Methodist Church, the largest Protestant denomination in America. It upheld the right of Christians to "nonviolent civil disobedience in extreme cases."

The General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association adopted a resolution sanctioning "all forms of nonviolent resistance . . . to the machines of war" —including destruction of draft cards.

Church statement recalled

And the General Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ issued a strong statement in 1966 asserting: "The right of dissent should be exercised with responsibility both to the integrity of the individual conscience and to the common good."

On the other hand, the Conference of Chief Justices —men who head state supreme courts—warned not long ago that civil disobedience is "shaking the very bedrock of our political and social structures." The conference passed a resolution deploring the "unprecedented lawlessness and mob violence."

In a similar vein, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders noted in its report: "Preserving civil peace is the first responsibilty of government. Unless the rule of law prevails, our society will lack not only order but also the environment essential to social and economic progress."

The most generally held view is that civil disobedience is wrong when it becomes violent and infringes on the rights of others. As Erwin N. Griswold, Solicitor General of the United States, put it: "Violent opposition to law—any law—or forcible disregard of another's freedom to disagree falls beyond the pale of legitimate dissent or even of civil disobedience, properly understood; it is nothing short of rebellion.

"No mob has ever protected any liberty, even its own.

"Civil government cannot let any group ride roughshod over others simply because their 'consciences' tell them to do so."

Experts scrutinize subject

Legal experts naturally are among those giving the subject closest scrutiny. For lawbreakers, regardless of their motives, can be expected to wind up with their grievances in court.

Civil disobedients in the traditional mold of Thoreau, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King Jr. are well aware of the consequences they face.

"The lawbreaker breaks the law surreptitiously and tries to avoid the penalty," wrote Mohandas K. Gandhi. "Not so the civil resister; he openly and willingly breaks them and quietly suffers the penalty for their break . . . in order to register his protest against the action of the lawgivers."

However, he also recognized limits to disobedience, for he said: "I would be deeply distressed if on every conceivable occasion every one of us were to be a law unto oneself. . . . I would surrender my judgment in most matters to national representatives, taking particular care in making my choice of such representatives. I know that in no other manner would a democratic government be possible for one single day."

Henry David Thoreau felt that "government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient. . . . The government itself, which is only the mode which the people have chosen to execute their will, is equally liable to be abused and perverted before the people can act through it. . . ."

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. followed Gandhi in preaching nonviolence. Of his own acts of civil disobedience, he explained:

"I think we all have moral obligations to obey just laws. On the other hand, I think we have moral obligations to disobey unjust laws because noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good.

"I think the distinction here is that when one breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, he must do it cheerfully, he must do it lovingly, he must do it with a willingness to accept the penalty. And any man who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail in order to arouse the conscience of the law, is at that moment expressing the very highest respect for the law."

What disturbs many Americans today, however, is the prospect that nonviolent leaders may no longer be able to keep large masses of demonstrators from becoming violent. As Associate Justice Hugo L. Black of the Supreme Court of the United States, one of the most noted advocates and defenders of the right of protest and dissent, put it:

"Experience demonstrates that it is not a far step from the earnest, honest, kind, spirited multitude of today to the fanatical, threating lawless mob of tomorrow. And the crowds that press in the streets for noble causes today can be supplanted tomorrow by street mobs and pressuring the courts for precisely opposite ends."

Following this same argument, James C. Humes, executive director of the Philadelphia Bar Association, suggested in a recent speech that "even the most noble act of civil disobedience can undermine the rule of law. For if one group feels free to break the law for one cause, the other group can feel equally free to break it for another cause.

Sharp distinction made

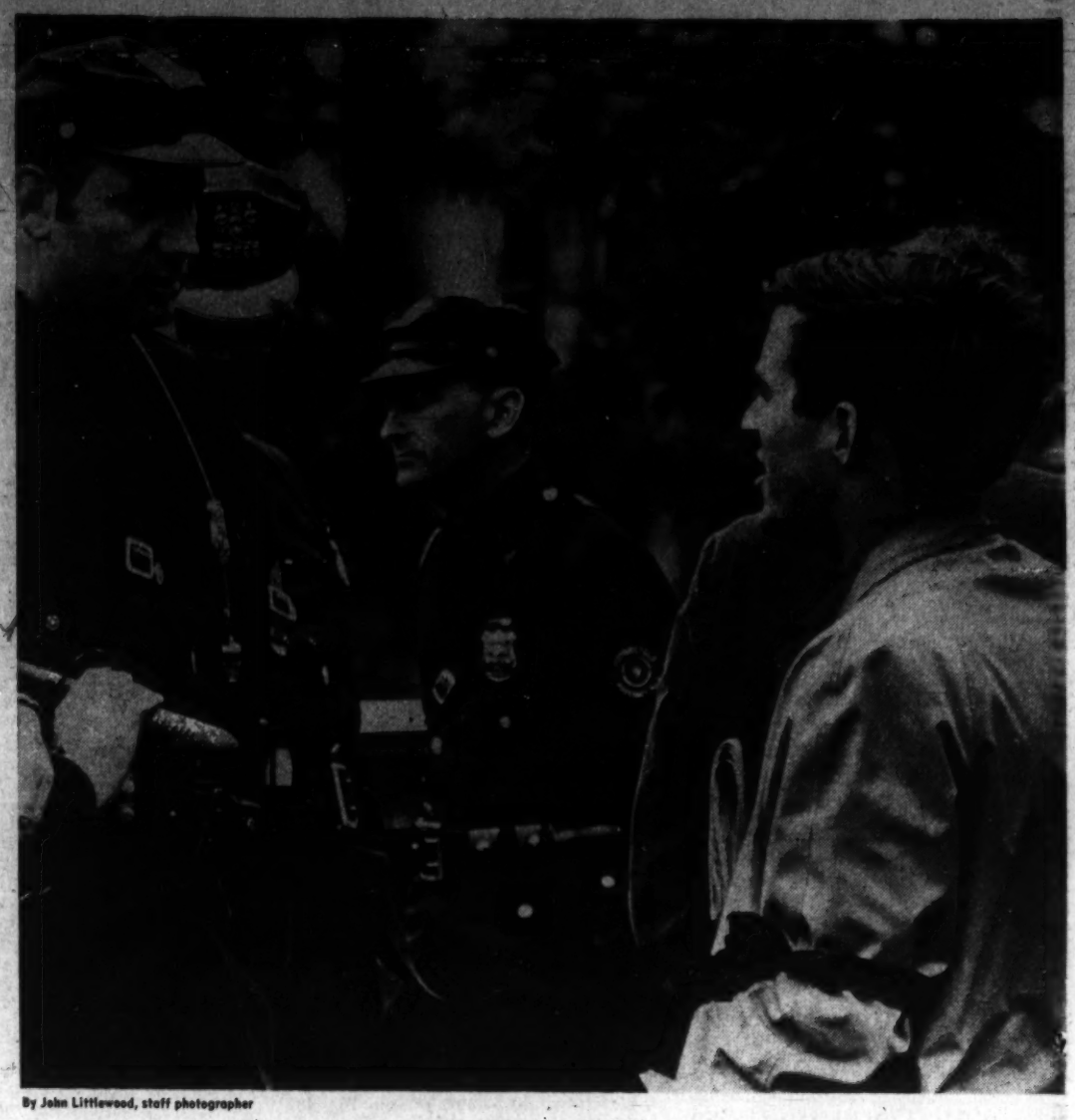
Legal experts make a sharp distinction between lawful protests and unlawful demonstrations. They say the former, when not violating the rights of others, is permissible in the eyes of the law, but unlawful protesters should expect punishment.

Supporters of civil disobedience, however, often point to the Nuremberg trials following World War II as evidence to support their contention that immoral laws should be disobeyed. Nazi war criminals at Nuremberg were convicted of mass murders and atrocities that were done in the name of the state.

Whether nonviolent civil disobedience is ever justified is open to argument. Ralph W. Conant, associate director of the Lemburg Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University, however, lists six circumstances under which, in his opinion, nonviolent disobedience might be tolerated:

- "When an oppressed group is deprived of lawful channels for remedying its condition; conversely, a resort to civil disobedience is never politically legitimate where methods of due process in both the legal and political systems are available as remedies.
- "As a means of resisting or refusing to participate in an obvious and intolerable evil perpetrated by civil authorities (for example, a policy of genocide or enslavement).
- "When government takes or condones actions that are inconsistent with values on which the society and the political system are built, and thus violates the basic assumptions on which the regime's legitimacy rests.
- "When it is certain that the law or policy in question violates the constitution of the regime and, therefore, would be ruled unconstitutional by proper authority if challenged.
- "When a change in law or policy is demanded by social or economic need in the community and the normal procedures of law and politics are inadequate, obstructed or held captive by antilegal forces.
- "When the actions of government have become so obnoxious to one's own personal ethics (value system) that one would feel hypocritical in submitting to a law that enforces these actions: for example, the Fugitive Slave Law."

Last of a series



By John Littlewood, staff photographer

Student strikers in New York defy police in age-old confrontation

LAW vs. DISSENT 3

...and historical setting

MORE THAN A CENTURY HAS PASSED SINCE Henry David Thoreau heard the beat of "a different drummer" and marched off to jail in protest of what he considered an unjust law.

Yet the seeds of "moral protest" the Concord philosopher cast upon the quiet New England countryside that sunny day in 1848 have blossomed into the widespread and sometimes violent demonstrations of civil disobedience now stirring much of the world.

Thoreau's influence on the course dissent has taken in the United States in recent years is unmistakable, but long before his single night in jail were controversial figures in history taking stands against governmental authority in the name of conscience. Civil disobedience, in fact, is as old as democracy itself.

Socrates in ancient Greece believed that reason could dictate a conscientious disobedience of state law. But like most noteworthy civil disobedients in history, he also believed the moral protester had to accept the legal sanctions for disobeying the law. He was charged with teaching religious views to youths contrary to state laws. He refused to stop his teachings, declined to accept exile as punishment, and finally accepted the capital penalty.

Galileo was another whose convictions brought him in conflict with governmental authority in the early 1600's and provided, perhaps, an early spark to the heated debate still raging over civil disobedience. Galileo was an advocate of the Copernican system, which denied the then accepted belief that the earth was the center of the universe.

Discontinuance ordered

Because of his efforts to prove his theory, he was called a heretic and ordered to discontinue his espousals. He refused and was forced to kneel before a vast assembly and renounce his findings.

An indefinite term of imprisonment was imposed and later commuted. He was allowed to return to Florence where he led a subdued life.

The church-state struggle that divided Europe some 500 years ago lent significant fuel to the smoldering concept of civil disobedience. The church at that time claimed a separate and equal domain from the state. Church leaders felt they held final authority and reigned over a moral territory the state could not violate.

Historians and political thinkers in the 19th century added further sparks to the growing flame by refusing to accept the proposition that no authority could oppose that of the state's.

In England in this century, came Harold Laski, a young political scientist and author who probed among the coals of church-state history and political theory, and created perhaps more heat than light with his concept of political "pluralism." Society, he held, was composed not only of the state, but also of the trade union, the church, the corporation, and the university.

The state, as he viewed it, had a claim on the individual, but so did society's other components. Sovereignty, in other words, was "plural."

According to Dr. Max Lerner, professor of American civilization and institutions at Brandeis University, Laski's theory provided one base for the theory of civil disobedience. Philosophers in Britain, France, and Germany were influenced by it, but in America other forces were at work.

Many proponents of civil disobedience in the United States point with pride to the American Revolution and the Boston Tea Party as prime examples of successful stands against a powerful government (although others make a sharp distinction between revolution and disobedience).

Less than a century after the Revolution came the igniting spark, Thoreau, and his classical confrontation in jail with his friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson.

"Henry, why are you here?" asked Emerson.

"Waldo, why are you not here?" retorted Thoreau.

The New England philosopher and naturalist spent only one night in jail for refusing to pay a poll tax, but his example and the essay he wrote following his release, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience," can truly be said to have exerted a profound influence on the course of men and nations in the years since.

Tolstoy shared emphasis

The Russian novelist and philosopher, Tolstoy, shared Thoreau's emphasis on the individual, and his efforts to live according to a set of self-styled religious convictions brought him in conflict with governmental power. He was excommunicated from the Russian Orthodox Church, and his wife and other members of his family were alienated from society.

But it was in India and his native America that Thoreau's views have had their greatest impact. Gandhi took civil disobedience, added his own deep convictions—especially stressing nonviolence, and developed an effective strategy for wresting Indian independence from England.

In the United States the civil-rights movement in the South, under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was a direct outgrowth of Thoreau's ideas. Dr. King once wrote:

"During my early college days I read Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience for the first time. Fascinated by the idea of refusing to cooperate with an evil system, I was so deeply moved that I reread the work several times. I became convinced then that noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. . . .

"As a result of his [Thoreau's] writings and personal witness we are the heirs of a legacy of creative protest. It goes without saying that the teachings of Thoreau are alive today, indeed, they are more alive today than ever before."

Stemming in part from the successful Negro drives in the South, civil disobedience has expanded into unprecedented dimensions in recent months, sometimes crossing the narrow boundaries of nonviolent disobedience into the wide open spaces of violence and disorder.

And when modern protesters have ventured beyond the limits of nonviolent civil disobedience, they have left behind them a long tradition of dissent that has proved sometimes effective, always controversial.

By a staff photographer

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

By the Associated Press

H. D. Thoreau

By the Associated Press

Mohandas K. Gandhi

Onlookers dare not budge

Stiff security at a Sirhan hearing

By Kimmis Hendrick
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

Precisely at 9 a.m. Superior Court Judge Richard Schauer entered the improvised courtroom in the jail area of Los Angeles's heavily guarded Hall of Justice.

Five minutes later, on order of the judge, the bailiff brought in Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, indicted by the Los Angeles County Grand Jury on the charge that he did murder "Robert Francis Kennedy, a human being," a few minutes after the New York Senator's victory in California's presidential primary.

No case was ever handled here under such tight security arrangements. And it probably is safe to say that no case was ever approached here with more concern for everything meant by "due process."

This July 19 session of Judge Schauer's court, in continuance of a first session for the purpose on June 28, was to hear the defendant enter his plea—guilty or not guilty.

Reports awaited

Young Mr. Sirhan's lawyer, veteran attorney Russell E. Parsons, who volunteered to represent the accused without pay "because I'm a lawyer and this man is in serious trouble," asked for another continuance until Aug. 2.

Mr. Parsons told the court he had not yet received the medical and psychiatric reports on which, in part, will be based a determination as to how Mr. Sirhan is to answer the charge against him.

District Attorney Evelle J. Younger, representing the people of the State of California, said tersely, "No objection."

There were 52 representatives of press, radio, and television, as well as about 30 people from the general public, admitted to the small windowless courtroom.

This reporter, like everyone else on hand, had been given an entry permit, conducted by sheriff's deputies up to the top floor of the Hall of Justice via elevator, searched, and seated. He was instructed, like the others, that if he as much as stood up during the court session he would be removed immediately.

He never budged. Nobody budged.

A smile or two

The defendant, whom the court invariably addressed as "Mr. Sirhan," entered quickly and smiled at his attorney and at one of his brothers seated across the room.

He looked very serious. He appeared to be tremendously interested in the proceedings. A spectator might have thought Mr. Sirhan looked as though he were not personally involved.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Sirhan Bishara Sirhan
...smiles as he leaves Los Angeles courtroom

Judge Schauer's first action was to inquire if both Messrs. Younger and Parsons were agreeable to the extraordinary security provisions of court facilities set up inside the jail.

They said they were. Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess, with funds provided by the County Board of Supervisors, had improvised a courtroom arranged and armored to provide maximum protection for the defendant and everyone else involved. Getting into it seemed about as complicated as working the combination on a guarded safe.

Businesslike, courteous

Inside, proceedings were businesslike, serious, always dignified and courteous.

When Judge Schauer accepted Mr. Parsons' motion for another continuance—until Aug. 2—the judge turned to the defendant and asked, "Is this agreeable to you, Mr. Sirhan?" He answered briskly, "Yes, sir."

District Attorney Younger then told judge Schauer he would like to raise questions about restrictions on publicity the court had placed on the case. The judge said he would be glad to hear them Aug. 2.

"I am prepared to make some changes today," the judge continued, adding that his study of the order had persuaded him it was "unduly restrictive." Then he proceeded, page by page, to amend the existing order some 10 or 15 times.

At the Sirhan arraignment June 7, Superior Court Judge Arthur L. Alarcon issued an order prohibiting Los Angeles Mayor Samuel W. Yorty and several other persons from discussing the assassination publicly. This represented an intense concern at the time that statements by prominent citizens, like the Mayor, might amount to prejudgments and might make it almost impossible to get a fair trial.

In a press release issued by the district attorney's office as soon as the court adjourned, Mr. Younger was quoted as saying that the court order of June 7 seemed "excessively broad in scope," that it had "the effect of denying the public certain information about the case."

Mr. Younger, as district attorney, has stressed the determination of his office to prosecute the case with meticulous regard for the defendant's rights under law. As it has been pointed out several times since the Kennedy assassination here, the United States Supreme Court has set aside three notable convictions in recent years because due process was violated.

Mr. Younger and others have commented that safeguarding this fundamental of the American legal system will be extremely difficult in the Sirhan case. Impaneling an impartial jury may be just one obstacle.

Swift pace

But everything moved fast July 19.

At about 9:23, Judge Schauer said, "Will the bailiff please remove Mr. Sirhan." The bailiff did.

Reporters and spectators had to keep their seats five minutes more. Then they were permitted to leave. This time they went by way of a different elevator.

A sheriff's deputy took their passes. He said, firmly but courteously, "Do not take it off yourselves. Let me remove it."

Scandinavians pool aid

By Reuters

Oslo

The Scandinavian countries have signed an agreement pooling their administration of aid to developing nations. Under the agreement a joint ministerial committee will propose projects, fix budgets, and make decisions regarding aid projects.

Foes hang on call of Justice Fortas

By Robert Cahn
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

One phone call by Associate Justice Abe Fortas now looms large in the battle over Senate confirmation of his nomination by the President as the new Chief Justice of the United States.

It could, conceivably, be the event that turns apparent victory into defeat.

The phone call in May of last year, Mr. Justice Fortas has admitted, went to his long-time personal friend and former intimate business associate, Ralph Lazarus, board chairman of Federated Department Stores. Mr. Lazarus had just made a speech in Hot Springs, Va., at a meeting of the Business Council, in which he said the escalation of the war would add $5 billion to the President's defense budget.

Justice Fortas explained to the Senate Judiciary Committee now considering his nomination as Chief Justice that he had known Mr. Lazarus for more than 15 years and had discussed everything except court cases with him.

Figure called estimate

"I'm a person," Mr. Justice Fortas said. "I talk to people and people talk to me. I don't see anything wrong in that."

Senatorial opponents of the Fortas nomination appear to be stressing this phone call as another indication of the close association Mr. Fortas has with President Johnson.

The original story which appeared in the New York Times in June last year said that the phone call (incorrectly attributed as being made to another person) was placed "to transmit Lyndon Johnson's ire to the Business Council over a statement that the President considered misleading."

Mr. Justice Fortas was attributed as having said the President expected a clarification.

Later in the day, Mr. Lazarus did issue another statement saying that the $5 billion figure was merely an estimate of already identified additional expenditures and did not portend enlargement of the war.

Mr. Justice Fortas, on the witness stand, said that the newspaper account was in error when it said that "I transmitted the President's ire."

The Chief Justice-designate previously had admitted to sitting in on White House strategy planning conferences on the Vietnam war and on the urban riots. He did not advise the President, however, he said. He said he merely set forth the considerations as stated by others on various sides of a question.

Mr. Justice Fortas repeatedly declined to answer questions related to decisions he had rendered while on the bench, and Circuit Judge Homer Thornberry echoed his stand Saturday, indicating the doctrine of separation of powers prevented him from testifying about decisions he had written.

Opposition at the public hearing on the confirmation has largely covered the part Mr. Justice Fortas has played in Supreme Court decisions, especially on the cases concerning the charge that the court is responsible for the increase of crime by its decisions favorable to criminals.

But few observers expect that the opponents could stop the Fortas nomination on the basis of his court decisions. The major opposition comes outside the hearings, from Michigan junior Sen. Robert P. Griffin. He leads a block of Republicans opposing the nomination of Mr. Justice Fortas on the basis that it is a "lame-duck" appointment, and that it is wrong for a Supreme Court justice or chief justice to be taking any part in White House activities.

Vote delay sought

The Fortas nomination becomes more and more of a political football each succeeding day. Senator Griffin says he will take the fight to the Republican National Convention next month and is working on a proposed platform plank "that would relate to appointments to the judiciary."

The strategy of the Fortas nomination opponents now seems to be to delay a Senate vote. Although the Fortas hearings have been completed, it takes only one member of the Judiciary Committee to invoke a committee rule requiring a week's delay before a vote. This could put the committee decision over until the last week before the convention.

If the nomination got to the Senate floor during that last hectic week of rush legislation, it is doubtful that a vote could be obtained, especially with a filibuster threatened by the Griffin forces.

Opponents near number

It would take a two-thirds majority to shut off debate. And the bloc of Republican votes backing Senator Griffin, plus Democrats who oppose Mr. Justice Fortas for his court philosophy, plus Southern Democrats who regularly are against shutting off debate, now appear to be near or over the magic number needed to prevent cloture.

In the eventuality that the nomination does not reach a vote, Chief Justice Earl Warren would remain in the post until President Johnson accepts his resignation.

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WESTON, WAYLAND & SUDBURY: Resurfacing & Related Work on Route 20	2.50	5.	7,500.

Contractors intending to bid on any project must first obtain Form R-109 "Request for Proposal Forms" (for Determination of Contractor's Qualification) from the Contract Engineer, Room 1010A at the above address, which Form must be completed and submitted to the Contract Engineer for approval. Upon approval and payment of the required amount the prospective bidder shall be entitled to receive an officially numbered Proposal Book containing specifications along with a set of plans for the project. Payment for these shall be by cash, bank check, certified check or money order drawn to the order of the Massachusetts Department of Public Works, which payment will be refunded in accordance with the terms in the "Notice to Contractors" contained in the Proposal Book. Plans on display and complete information available at the Boston Office, the Northampton, Worcester and Taunton District Offices, and at the Office of each other District wherein the project is located.

EDWARD J. RIBBS, Commissioner of Public Works

July 22, 1968

CITY OF BOSTON
PUBLIC HEARING
A public hearing will be held in the City Council Chamber, City Hall, on Wednesday, July 24, 1968, at 10:30 A.M., by the Committee on Appropriations and Finance of the Boston City Council to consider the following:
1. Message and order for appropriation of $1,395,086 to Health and Hospitals Department.
2. Order for transfer of $275,000 to Fire Department from Sales of City Property.
For the Committee:
FREDERICK C. LANGONE, Chairman

ALPHABETICAL LISTING

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Keystone

Thames trip for a tower

A 60-ton British-made fabrication begins its journey up the Thames toward the West India docks, where it was to board a ship for Das Island, off the coast of Abu Dhabi, southeast Arabia. The 112-foot, vertical cold stripper tower and vent drum will be used in a crude-oil sweetener plant.

Gold fight drags

South Africa hurls economic blow at U.S. with announcement of May-June sales

The economic scene

By David R. Francis

Business and financial correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Most of us have watched those Westerns in which one cowboy swings at another, whacking him on the chin. Then the other guy gets up and hits him back.

Last week saw a similar slugging match between the United States Treasury and South Africa over the price of gold.

The fight undoubtedly will drag on for some time, as it does in the Westerns. But financial experts certainly aren't reckoning South Africa's ability to continue the battle by the relatively small size of its economy.

South Africa struck last when Finance Minister Nicolas Diederichs announced officially July 18 that his nation already had sold gold to both central banks and the free market. He added that "no additional free-market gold sales will be necessary or are even contemplated for considerable time to come."

As a result, gold jumped in price July 19 to $39.50 an ounce in the free markets of Europe.

If South Africa were not going to sell some of its newly mined gold, the gold markets figured, the supply would be limited.

Report pleases buyers

Gold buyers found especially encouraging Mr. Diederichs's report that South Africa made "substantial" sales in May and June to "test the absorptive capacity of the free market." In those months, the price of gold had come under no severe pressure, remaining above $40.

He added that no sales had been made since June. This indicated that South African gold sales hadn't directly played a part in the $3.25 drop in the gold price from July 5 to July 17.

Of course, nearly any supply of gold in private hands, including those May-June sales, would have some effect on the price of gold.

But what really depressed the price of the yellow metal was the earlier financial support given Britain and France by central bankers. Also there were reports that the central banks had agreed to refrain from buying gold from South Africa until it sold enough on the free market to shove the price down closer to $35.

Then on July 16 Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler issued a vague statement indicating he opposed an agreement among the leading nations for "artificial support" of the free-market gold price. He added that he hoped South Africa would sell its gold in the free market "in her own interest."

U.S. favors low price

Neither the United States nor any other member of the former gold pool has any "enmity" toward South Africa or any "wish to hurt her," he said.

Maybe so, but the United States does want the private price of gold kept low. And that does hurt South Africa, the world's major producer of gold. Indeed, Mr. Fowler's statement depressed the market to its low of $37.15 on July 17. It was a blow.

Mr. Diederichs's July 18 statement was a fast counterblow.

There remain several mysteries or unknowns:

1. How big were South Africa's "substantial" sales?

Available statistics aren't too revealing. South Africa held $742 million of gold at the end of March and $975 million at the end of June. Thus reserves increased by $233 million.

South Africa's monthly production of newly mined gold, though, runs about $90-$91 millions. In those three months, the mines should have added something over $270 million to South Africa's gold hoard. This means nearly $40 million of gold is missing.

Holdings kept secret

But it's not known whether those statistics reflect South Africa's sale of gold to the International Monetary Fund in exchange for $62.02 million of foreign currencies on June 28.

Since June, the South African Government has not been disclosing its total gold holdings. It passed legislation earlier making this unnecessary. It merely indicates total reserves of gold and foreign exchange.

It's possible that South Africa sold some of the gold for delivery in the future, thereby avoiding the need for reporting any loss.

Dr. Franz Pick, New York foreign-currency specialist, holds that South Africa sold about $90 million of gold. That matches another expert's guess.

2. Which central banks bought South African gold?

It is generally believed they belong to small nations. But no one was prepared to guess which countries. Dr. Pick puts a figure of $90 million on these sales also.

3. Will South Africa now be willing to negotiate with the major industrial nations on gold sales for central-bank use?

Orderly rise sought

Mr. Diederichs denied that present sales to central banks were part of an agreement requiring South Africa to sell gold on the free market as well.

If South Africa test sales to the free market actually were as "substantial" as some estimate, then the African nation probably would not need to bother with central-bank sales. The free market could absorb its entire production.

Whether South Africa feels it still would like to have central banks maintain a $35 floor as Mr. Fowler implied is not known. Mr. Diederichs did indicate he would like an orderly increase in the official gold price.

Until full confidence returns in paper currencies, it seems likely that Mr. Diederichs will land more blows than Mr. Fowler. Right now, in black markets for hand payments which circumvent exchange controls or records, sterling sells at almost an 8 percent discount, the French franc, at a 15 percent discount, and the U.S. dollar at 5 percent discount. Confidence in paper currencies, in other words, is not yet strong.

Canada's pulp industry squeezed

By Ronald Anderson

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Toronto

Canada's pulp and paper industry is passing through its second successive year of declining mill operating rates and falling profits.

An expansionary boom in the first half of the decade has left the industry with huge over-capacity just at a time when United States demand for imported pulp and paper has flattened out. The consensus of investment analysts is that the problem will continue for another two or three years, although 1968 is probably the low year.

Industry shipments of all products in 1967 dropped fractionally to just under 16 million tons. A production gain of 2 to 3 percent for 1968 had been predicted at the beginning of the year. Output in the first five months of the year has been better than the prediction: Shipments, at 6,948,000 tons, were 5.4 percent higher than in the 1967 period.

The improvement, however, reflects stockpiling by customers in anticipation of strikes. In both eastern and western Canada, this is contract-renewal year for pulp and paper companies. If strikes do not materialize—and the progress of contract talks to date has been encouraging—mill operating rates later in the year will suffer as inventories are worked off.

Claims staked

Newsprint mills have been hard hit by recent capacity increases in the United States, which takes more than three-quarters of Canada's newsprint production. Mill output slipped to 3,329,000 tons from 3,427,000 tons, largely because of a drop to 2,493,000 tons from 2,621,000 tons in shipments to the United States.

During the same period, according to the Newsprint Association of Canada, American newsprint shipments to domestic markets increased to 1,152,000 tons from 1,065,000 tons. This reduced Canada's share of the U.S. market to 66 percent from 69 percent a year earlier and 72 percent in 1966.

The operating rate of Canadian chemical-pulp mills in five months of 1968 was 86 percent of capacity, compared with 88 percent a year earlier and 93 percent in 1966.

The troubles of chemical-pulp products, however, are potentially more difficult than those of newsprint producers, because of rapid expansion of capacity in British Columbia. Foreign as well as domestic pulp and paper companies have rushed to stake a claim there to a declining supply of uncommitted pulpwood reserves.

Instability increased

Companies can assure themselves of a future supply of wood for expansion only by committing themselves to build a mill within a specified time. Since this policy has been followed by several provincial governments, new mills under construction will add to the existing over-capacity. A number of the new mills are operated by newcomers which do not have established markets and which sell the pulp to other companies for conversion into paper or other products.

Market pulp has increased to 29 percent of Canadian pulp production, and of this 90 percent is exported. This rising supply of market pulp has added to the instability of the industry and has led to fierce competition.

Although quoted prices have held steady for more than a year at $145 to $155 a ton for bleached kraft pulp, the quotations are only nominal: Industry authorities say discounts from the list price have been running at 10 percent or even more. The general expectation is that pulp producers will be troubled by over-capacity until the early 1970's.

Newsprint expansion also is continuing, chiefly in eastern Canada, but projected increases are relatively small.

Warning sounded

Total capital investment by the pulp and paper industry this year is forecast at $280 million, down sharply from $428 million in 1967 and $506 million in 1966. The investment, for the most part, reflects commitments made two or three years ago when the market outlook was much brighter.

R. M. Fowler, president of the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, warned the industry earlier this year that further expansion would compound an already difficult situation.

With about 15 percent of its expensive new capacity idle and heavy running-in costs of hastily built plants, the industry's profits have been under pressure, and share prices are down sharply from their peaks of 1966 and 1967.

At one point this year, share prices of some important Canadian producers were down almost 50 percent from their 1967 highs, but recently the market has turned up fairly strongly.

The improvement partly results from an expectation that the industry will avoid costly strikes this year, or inflationary wage settlements; but it also reflects a belief among investors that pulp and paper producers probably have hit bottom and should start to improve in their operating results.

Demand predicted

There is little hope of any rapid or dramatic improvement. The consensus among analysts is that only an increase in mill operating rates will have much effect on profits, and this is expected to be gradual.

The Food and Agriculture Organization predicts that world demand for pulp will continue to increase at about 5½ percent a year, with a somewhat faster growth rate abroad than in North America. Canada is well situated to share in this growth, with an efficient large-scale pulp and paper industry and with wood in volumes, types, and locations favorable to maintaining its position as a low-cost producer.

There is also some hope that "Kennedy round" tariff reductions will permit the industry to build up exports of fine papers and packaging materials, as a supplement to the traditional Canadian exports of pulp and newsprint.

Meanwhile, there is a growing impatience with the unplanned boom-or-bust development pattern of the Canadian industry.

Market slumps as investors recoil

Week on Wall Street

By Martin Skala

Business and financial correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

The stock market headed lower after an assault into new high ground petered out early last week.

Having penetrated the 920 level on its third try in as many months, the Dow-Jones Industrial Average failed to keep up its momentum. It slid 10 points in three trading sessions as profit taking pulled the blue-chip list down from its 1968 closing high of 923.72 to 913.92. There was no trading Wednesday as major stock exchanges continued their midweek shutdowns to reduce the logjam of paper work.

A faltering market showed additional weakness late Friday when Radio Hanoi reported that North Vietnam would not de-escalate the fighting in deference to the Paris peace talks.

Technical analysts, many of whom had hoped a move above the 920 resistance level on the Dow would fuel a sustained run-up, now are having second thoughts about a possible summer rally.

Cooling off forecast

Despite the historical precedent for a seasonal upswing, some think the market is vulnerable as investors grow more cautious owing to the deflationary aspects of the 10 percent surtax and federal spending cuts. The spate of second-quarter earnings reports shows many large companies are having difficulty posting profit gains over the same 1967 period.

A cooling off of the economy is increasingly evident, according to the Department of Commerce. While the second quarter's gross national product grew by almost 2¼ percent, to a record $851 billion annual rate (seasonally adjusted), the Commerce Department forecasts a much smaller increase in the next two quarters. In addition, industrial production is leveling off as is the buildup of business inventories.

Despite the slowdown, government economists don't expect consumer price rises to fall much below the current 4 percent annual rate.

With the economic background providing little stimulus, more issues declined than advanced last week. The margin of losers was 1,000 to 567.

In an effort to reduce the paper-work logjam in unlisted securities the New York Stock Exchange and the American Stock Exchange considered—and then shelved—a plan to curtail trading hours in over-the-counter securities. The proposal ran afoul of strenuous objections by the National Association of Securities Dealers, representative of some 3,000 firms which don't belong to major exchanges, and a division of opinion among exchange members.

Those fighting the plan argued it would be unfair to penalize only those brokerage firms depending largely on revenues from trading unlisted stocks.

Banks among gainers

The broad-based Standard & Poor's 500-stock composite fell 1.88 points to 100.46. The sell-off in a large number of widely watched Big Board issues thus exceeded the decline in the typical Dow-Jones Industrial Average blue chips.

The number of new 1968 highs dropped sharply from the previous week. There were 229 new highs compared with 39 new lows.

Among the best gainers were banks, finance companies, and savings-and-loan issues. The latter responded to signs of easier money as well as news that deposit outflows in early July were lower than anticipated. Auto stocks were buoyed by reports of a 12 percent spurt in new-car sales for the July 1-10 period.

Conglomerate issues, such as Ogden, Whittaker, and Gulf & Western were on the defensive. The group reacted to the threat of stiffer antitrust regulation by the Federal Trade Commission. The government agency is concerned over the current merger scramble and may try to halt more take-overs in the future. Litton, a leading conglomerate, fell 5⅝ points to 75⅝.

Penn Central, one of the big railroads with an appetite for diversification, nose-dived 7 points to 74. The loss helped tug the Dow-Jones rail average down 8 points to 257.80.

South African car sales up

By the Associated Press

Port Elizabeth, South Africa

South African auto sales in the first six months of 1968 totaled 72,218 units, up from 71,868 units a year earlier.

Market indicators

Week ended July 19

By the Associated Press

Dow Jones stock averages

	High	Low	Close	Chg.
30 Inds	923.72	913.92	913.92	— 8.54
20 Rails	264.28	257.80	257.80	— 8.62
15 Utils	134.43	133.28	133.28	— 1.43
65 Stks	333.16	328.10	328.10	— 5.40

Standard & Poor's stock indexes

	High	Low	Close	Chg.
425 Inds	111.33	109.34	109.34	— 2.10
20 Rails	52.29	50.60	50.60	— 1.97
55 Utils	68.28	67.86	67.86	— .43
500 Stks	102.34	100.46	100.46	— 1.88

What stocks did

	Latest wk	Prev. Wk	Yr. ago
Advances	567	1021	816
Declines	1000	540	647
Unchanged	113	103	124
Total issues	1680	1664	1609
New yearly highs	229	366	342
New yearly lows	39	16	49

Stock transactions

Latest week's sales	58,475,482
Previous week's sales	68,503,494
Year ago sales	58,219,910

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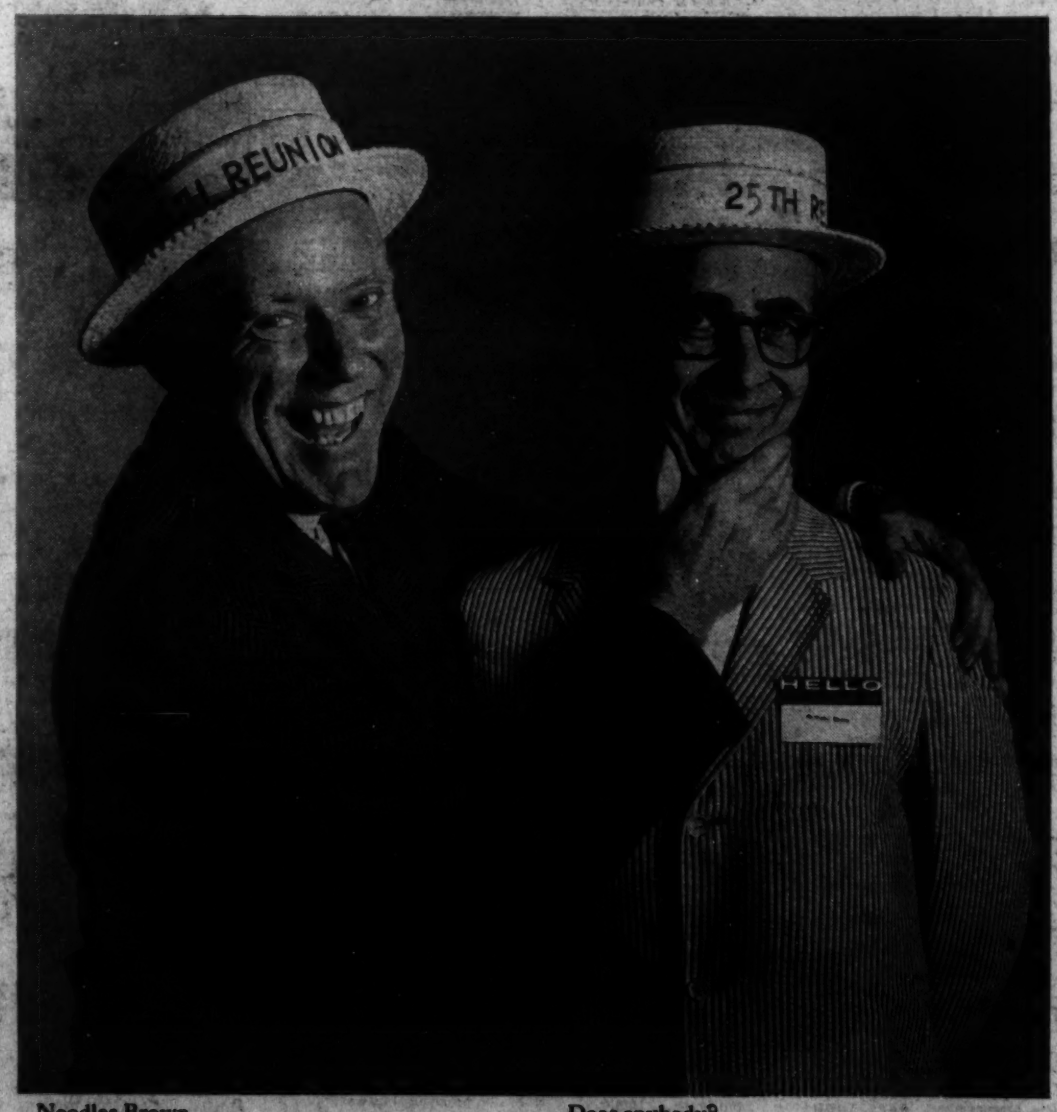

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July 28 deadline set

Aerospace talks in critical phase

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

New York

The aerospace industry has a new deadline of July 28 for settlements or strikes involving more than 100,000 workers represented by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) and United Automobile Workers (UAW).

IAM and UAW have scheduled separate mass meetings of Lockheed Aircraft and McDonnell Douglas Corporation's Douglas Aircraft Division for that day. The unions say they will have to have "something to be ratified" by then—tentative settlements—or they will consider the alternative of strike action.

Contracts at McDonnell Douglas ran out July 22 and at Lockheed July 23.

Crucial stage nears

Generally, the outlook is optimistic as talks move into the crucial stage. Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas are expected to place their first real offers on bargaining tables this weekend. Walter P. Reuther, UAW president, will be on hand—a sign that the bargaining is about to get to a make-or-break point.

The unions insist that their minimum for a settlement is the 6-to-6.5 percent a year in the 1967 auto contracts, about 80 cents an hour in pay increases over three years, plus something extra for skilled craftsmen, and substantial fringe gains. As talks moved toward the critical point, the parties appeared far apart—but compromises could come quickly enough to bring a peaceful settlement in the next week.

One important factor in the 1968 talks is the change the industry is undergoing: It is reverting more and more to its aircraft-manufacturing field and from missile production and rocketry. The job structure is therefore different now; aircraft production requires more skills and more routine production or assembly work.

There are more jobs with a close parallel to those in the UAW's auto field and in electronics, in which IAM is strong. Both unions contend that the same type of work should be at comparative rates of pay, regardless of the industry in which the work is done.

Even though this means harder bargaining, there are strong factors for peace: industry needs production — defense and commercial aircraft orders are piled high — and there is an obvious pattern to be followed.

Networks consider pool for Democratic convention

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

New York

New efforts were under way this weekend to break a tightened deadlock that threatened the Democratic national convention in Chicago's International Amphitheater. Nobody, however, was optimistic about an end of the electrical workers' strike against Illinois Bell Telephone Company.

The Democrats said Friday that they still plan to meet in Chicago—but it appeared that if they hold to their plans to meet in the city Aug. 26, the convention hall won't be fully equipped for news-ticker, television, and radio coverage.

The TV networks' elaborate—and competitive—plans for convention-hall coverage may have to be scrapped; with time now running out for installation work, pooled resources might be necessary.

Pickets threatened

Late last week Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley suggested that city employees might be sent into the convention hall to install "vital" communications equipment. Illinois Bell suggested that private contractors might be retained by the city to do the work.

But the striking International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which bargains for 11,800 strikers, said that IBEW picket lines would be set up at the Amphitheater if either city employees or private contractors try to do struck work.

Picketing almost certainly would stop all work in the hall: carpenters, painters, electricians, and other crafts traditionally refused to go through picket lines.

The dispute over a new IBEW contract with Illinois Bell is more complicated and important than appears on the surface.

Pattern attacked

For years, IBEW and independent telephone unions have been trying to break Bell System-Communications Workers of America "pattern-setting" bargaining.

CWA is the dominant union in the industry. Once it settles, as it did earlier this year, terms of its contracts are a basis of bargaining and settlements for the rest of the industry.

Previous efforts to break the pattern bargaining failed. This year, IBEW System Council T-4, of five locals, had a strong weapon: a strike that would stop installation work vital for the forthcoming Democratic national convention.

It demanded a bigger and different contract settlement. Illinois Bell, in constant touch with American Telephone & Telegraph Company and Bell System management, held to the general framework of the CWA pattern.

Reaction predicted

Nationwide money and the disruption of established labor-management relations in the industry are at stake. If Illinois Bell gives ground significantly to the IBEW locals, a prairie fire of problems could break out for Bell System companies nationally. Every militant in CWA would demand contract adjustments, on a "me, too" basis.

This is why ordinary mediation efforts so far have been unsuccessful: Mediation requires compromises — and in the Chicago contract fight a compromise by Illinois Bell would be about the same as a rout.

Taylor urges U.S. show of power in homestretch

By the Associated Press

Boston

A former ambassador to Vietnam says the war is in the "homestretch" and it is not the time for the United States to show weakness.

Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, now an adviser to President Johnson, told the National Retail Hardware Association's convention meeting here he felt the war may end with a settlement "consistent with our interests."

General Taylor added that he thought the North Vietnamese also sensed the end is approaching. He said the enemy is "girding" for battle on three fronts—the Vietnam front, the Paris front, and the United States front.

General Taylor also told the convention that he does not believe the United States can afford to be the "international policeman."

"One of the lessons we're learning from Vietnam is that it's high time that we review all of our commitments worldwide."

Longer passports backed

By the Associated Press

Washington

The House has passed a bill to make passports valid for five years. Passports now are valid for three years but may be renewed for two additional years.

The measure, passed on a roll-call vote of 324 to 71, also would raise the fee for a passport from $10 to $12.

Extradition case linked with Democrats' coffers

By the Associated Press

New York

The Democratic Party received $100,000 in donations, according to the Wall Street Journal, after Secretary of State Dean Rusk refused extradition of a Seafarers International Union official wanted in Canada.

The contributions from the union to the Democratic campaign organization were made without Mr. Rusk's knowledge, the newspaper said, adding:

"Conceivably this sequence of events represents sheerest coincidence. At any rate Secretary Rusk emphasizes that no political pressure was applied from any source to influence his decision."

The union man involved is Harold C. Banks, former chief of the Canadian district of the Seafarers Union.

Banks in 1964 was sentenced to five years in prison for conspiring to assault a rival union official. He jumped $25,000 bond, the Wall Street Journal said, and fled to the United States.

Mr. Rusk was asked to issue a surrender warrant that would have enabled Canada to extradite Banks, the newspaper account continued, but last March 25 he declined to do so, and Banks went free.

Explanation offered

Mr. Rusk later explained that to release Banks to Canadian authorities would have violated "my own sense of old-fashioned justice."

"Then a noteworthy thing happened," reporter Jerry Landauer wrote. "Within days after the Rusk decision, but unknown to the secretary, checks totaling $100,000 started flowing into Democratic campaign coffers from Seafarers Union headquarters in Brooklyn."

President Johnson, meanwhile, had made his surprise announcement that he would not seek reelection, propelling Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey into prominence as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The newspaper said Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz in a memorandum to Mr. Rusk had put in a good word for Banks. The newspaper quoted Mr. Wirtz as saying after being told of the union contributions: "It worries me greatly and I intend to find out about it."

U.S. announcement

The story also quoted Mr. Wirtz as saying he had not known of the union contributions that followed Banks's release and said the Labor Secretary expressed concern that the size and timing of the donations could hurt Mr. Humphrey.

Mr. Wirtz was quoted further as saying his memo to Mr. Rusk was primarily intended to acquaint the Secretary of State with the history of maritime violence involving Banks's union.

In Washington, an aide said Mr. Wirtz verified the accuracy of the quotations but said no further comment was expected from the Labor Secretary.

State Department press officer Robert J. McCloskey quoted Mr. Rusk as saying: "No one at the Democratic National Committee ever communicated with me on this matter. No one at the White House ever attempted to influence my decision nor did any congressman.

"This matter rested solely with the Secretary of State." Mr. McCloskey said, "The secretary is satisfied with the correctness and the legality of the decision in this case."

Concern over effect

At the time of Mr. Rusk's decision, the State Department announced that he had turned down Canada's request to return Banks on grounds the latter's offense was not extraditable under this country's treaty with Canada.

The newspaper said the Seafarers Union refused to comment on the campaign contributions or explain why they were made.

Later, the union said it had made such donations "for years."

"These political contributions were made openly as are all Seafarer contributions," the union said in a statement.

"They were made legally, as are all Seafarer contributions. They are reported publicly, as are all Seafarer contributions.

"Any suggestion that the exercise of this right is linked to any other situation or circumstance is wholly without justification."

Blond Indians discovered in remote Brazil area

By Reuters

Sao Luiz, Brazil

A village of entirely unknown blond, blue-eyed Indians was spotted by an Indian Foundation plane and the foundation plans to try an amicable approach.

Maj. Rubens Rodrigues said his plane located the village in the region of the Tocantins River in the south of this state of Maranhao.

He said they marked locations at which to leave gifts in an attempt to make friends.

Contractors building a road in the area have withdrawn their workmen until more is known of the nature of the hitherto unknown tribe.

Major Rodrigues said their observations indicated the Indians were "extremely warlike."

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FAMILY FEATURES

An architect reminisces

The way Colonial Williamsburg happened

Photos courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg

Before

In 1928, when this "before" shot was taken of Williamsburg, Va., drab houses only hinted at the history and potential entertainment for millions hidden on Duke of Gloucester Street. Today, after the extensive work of such men as architect Edwin Kendrew, the street is the main avenue of crisp and sparkling restored Colonial Williamsburg.

By Marilyn Hoffman
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Colonial Williamsburg, Va.

"As a young architect 40 years ago," Edwin Kendrew muses, "I had to decide whether to engage in private architectural practice or to remain with Colonial Williamsburg and continue the restoration of an important 18th-century town. I cast my lot with Williamsburg, determined to try to make this the finest restoration project of its kind in the world."

It was a decision the senior vice-president of Colonial Williamsburg has never regretted. "I came down for five months," he recalls, "and stayed on for four decades — and every minute has been rewarding." He now is the sole remaining original planner hired by the late John D. Rockefeller Jr. to remove the dust and neglect of two centuries and recreate that capital of the old Virginia colony that was so familiar to such patriots as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Patrick Henry.

This summer he puts away his T-square and planning charts and moves on to private projects, but he recently pointed out a few highlights of his lifetime career on the preservation of one of America's major historic sites.

From their restored 18th-century home on busy Duke of Gloucester Street, Ed and Melinda Kendrew have watched Williamsburg grow up around them from a mere 6,500 when they came to a bustling 16,000 today.

* * *

Walking around the colonial capital he has helped to restore, Mr. Kendrew acknowledges that the work here may never be finished. "We have a lot to learn from those 18th-century builders," he says. "They solved their problems with the materials at hand in a truly inspired manner. Williamsburg, you know, was one of the first planned cities in the United States and no town plan today can beat it.

"One building here has respect for its neighbors. They are compatible in style, yet individual. When you recall the compact, dark buildings of the 17th century, you realize the remarkable fresh and modern approach to building that evolved here. I think these buildings surely have a story to tell. . . ."

It was in 1926, he said, that the late Rev. W. A. R. Goodwin of Bruton Parish Church persuaded John D. Rockefeller Jr. to consider the restoration of Williamsburg. Mr. Rockefeller had replied, "I am not interested in saving the old houses in an improper environment. But if you could show me that it is feasible to restore whole sections of the city so that the old buildings could be seen in their proper settings, and we could acquire the properties, then I would be interested."

Mr. Kendrew was associated with the Boston architectural firm of Perry, Shaw & Hepburn—specialists in colonial architecture—when the firm was engaged to carry forward the survey. It was asked to make and carry out restoration recommendations, as soon as properties were acquired.

"My job when I arrived here in May, 1928," Mr. Kendrew remembers, "was to inspect some of the 18th-century houses to see if they would support fireproof shingles. I climbed up in attics, and noted how the framework of the old buildings contributed to their light and graceful design. There was much dilapidation but principal elements of the delightful old town were still there. The wisteria in bloom added charm, and the proud old families gave me my first taste of Southern hospitality."

The architectural team, with the assistance of special advisory boards of architects, landscape architects, and interior-design specialists, began the long research project which has resulted in today's authentically restored city.

"We drew up a bird's-eye perspective of the town from an aerial photograph taken from an old army airplane, then buried ourselves in sources of historic data, old pictures, wills, deeds, court records, insurance papers, inventories, letters, and books.

* * *

A Frenchman's map made in the final year of the Revolutionary War, which located every structure in the town, proved particularly helpful. Policies and principles of operation were laid down to control the restoration, and finally a five-year-plan with a $5 million budget was approved.

At the end of six years and $11 million, Mr. Rockefeller said, "Now let's call a halt and see if people are interested."

Though visitation prior to World War II was a mere trickle compared to the great numbers which came in postwar years, the philanthropist soon had his answer. Americans were awakening fast to an appreciation of their historical and cultural heritage.

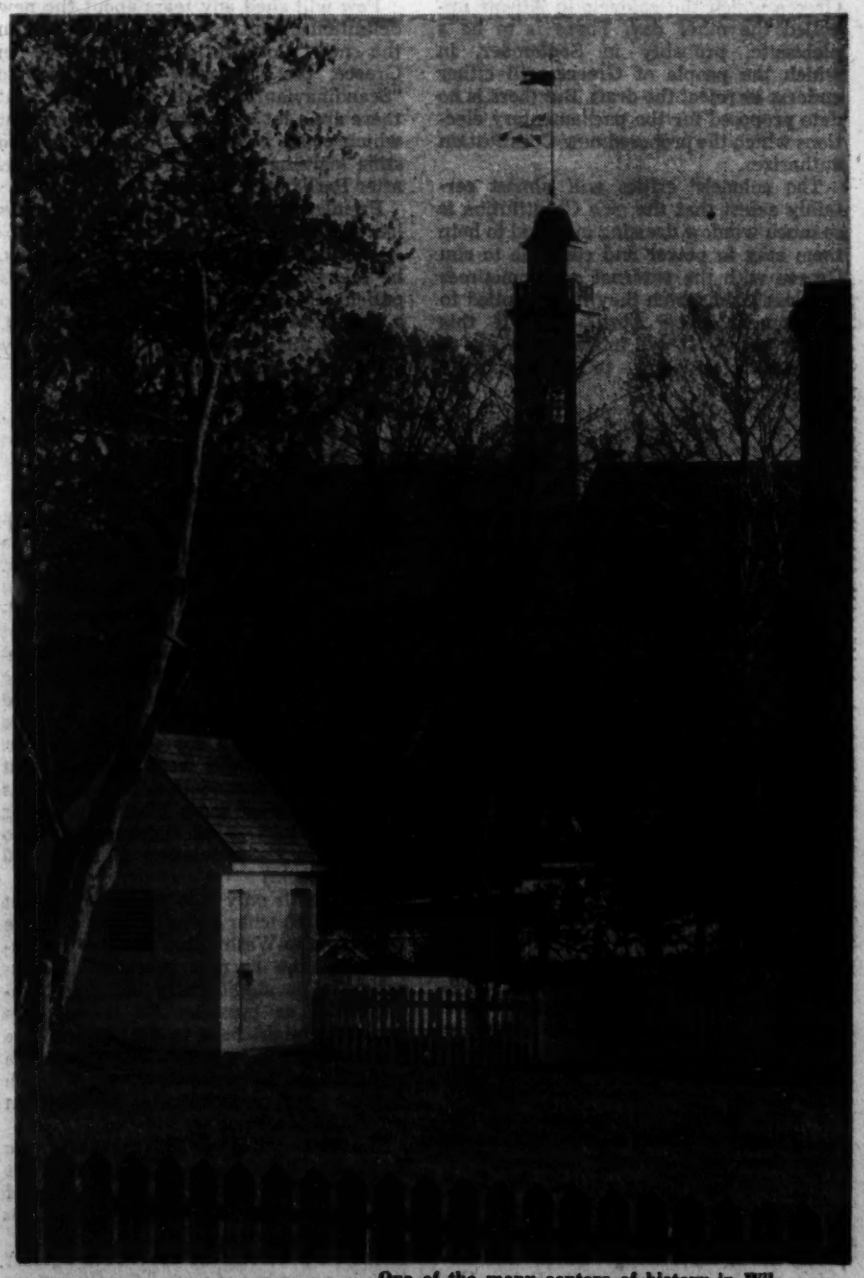
They, and foreign visitors alike, were fascinated with Williamsburg. Although Mr. Rockefeller had estimated that 50 hotel rooms would take care of guests, it became evident with last year's 710,000 visitors that even the current 2,270 guest rooms creaked under the strain.

* * *

Over three decades, Mr. Kendrew had the sympathetic ear of Mr. Rockefeller as he continued to survey needs and draw up new plans to take care of orderly growth and development. Gradually homes, shops, taverns, inns, craft shops, information and conference centers, and 90 well-manicured gardens and greens took their places in the complex of more than 500 colonial buildings. A 3000-acre "green belt" was acquired to protect the inner city. To date, the Rockefeller gift to Colonial Williamsburg amounts to more than $77 million and the outpouring continues.

This summer the buildings open to the public have been almost doubled with the opening of the restored Wetherburn's Tavern, the Peyton Randolph House, the James Geddy House, the Sir Christopher Wren building at the College of William and Mary, and McKenzie's Apothecary Shop.

A special combination ticket offering several options is now available, to relieve congestion and preserve the tranquillity of the setting. By 1980, one million visitors a year are expected, and Mr. Kendrew leaves a newly completed 15-year master plan to take care of the comfort and education of guests a dozen years from now.



After

One of the many centers of history in Williamsburg is the Capitol, seen just beyond the trees. Here the House of Burgesses met and Patrick Henry gave his famous speech against the Stamp Act. The building is restored to its appearance in the early 1700's.

Busing creates young opera converts

By Arnold Marquis

Los Angeles

There is no such thing as a disadvantaged or underprivileged child in the Opera for Children Program here.

This year more than 80,000 children were bused from their schools in every part of Los Angeles County to the Shrine Auditorium in downtown Los Angeles to see "The Magic Flute." More than 1,200,000 children of all races and creeds have attended in the last 20 years.

It is a rare child who gets through the elementary grades in Los Angeles without seeing at least one opera. There are four operas in the repertoire: "The Magic Flute," "The Bartered Bride," "Hansel & Gretel," and "Cinderella." Many children have seen three or all four, and many of their parents saw the operas in this same program when they were children.

The Opera for Children Program is a community affair, a wedding of a community organization and a school system. The operas are lavish productions by the Guild Opera Company. Each is a classic of its type, and a different opera is presented each year.

* * *

John Moss, business manager of the Opera Guild, sees the program as "a grass-roots introduction to the best in music." The program has never had to pass the hat.

Today the Opera for Children Program is the "in" thing to do. But it had some lean days.

After World War II a group of citizens organized the Opera Guild to promote the production of opera on the local school level. They engaged Carl Ebert, the well-known European producer and director, but without well-known performers to draw audiences, the first efforts scarcely got off the ground.

It was then that they turned to the grass roots, the concept of doing opera for children.

Starting with the tattered remnants of their first productions and a bank balance of $247, they approached the schools. Los Angeles County voted a subsidy of $5,000. All the rest was to come from admissions of $1 for each child.

The response was dramatic.

Today Los Angeles County appropriates $25,000 a year, and the children pay $1.25. The annual earnings never quite cover the cost, but the balance is always made up by individual members of the guild. There is never a deficit. The enterprise is solvent, and there's a reserve fund in the bank.

Under Carl Ebert, the Opera for Children Program became the outstanding project of its kind in the nation. Today his work is carried on by his son, Peter, who is also active in opera productions in Hannover and Augsburg, Germany.

Members of the Opera Guild see to it that every child that wants to attend the opera can go whether or not he has the $1.25. Opera has become a part of the regular course of study in the Los Angeles schools.

"It is a great and wondrous example of a community agency cooperating with a school system," says William C. Hartshorn, music supervisor of the Los Angeles City Schools, who has played a notable role in the opera program almost from the start. "The community agency offered the opportunity, and the school system cooperated."

* * *

Weeks before the season, the children study the story, get to know the characters, and listen to the music. Each teacher has a study guide and recordings of the music. At the same time, the children are prepared for the adventure of actually attending the opera. They talk about standards of behavior so that they and their neighbors may enjoy the performances together.

The logistics of getting 5,000 children a day from their schools all over sprawling Los Angeles County to the Shrine Auditorium in downtown Los Angeles, and back to their schoolrooms for afternoon classes, is a masterpiece of management.

* * *

The performances last about two hours. The music is beautiful; the cast, sets, and costumes are dazzling. Almost before the lights are lowered, it becomes an adventure in enchantment for the children. Their eager attention is a performer's dream, spontaneous, enthusiastic, yet never boisterous.

Contrasted with adult audiences, there is a quality of innocence and ingenuousness about them that is as wholesome as a spring breeze.

At the final curtain they know precisely what is expected of them. The auditorium is cleared in minutes as each group files out to the waiting buses.

Many of the children write letters telling what the operas mean to them. Some classes work up and produce their own versions of the operas, integrating the overture and some of the arias from the study recordings. They build their own sets, make their own costumes and props, and some of their productions are televised. Other children make puppets of the characters and act out the story using the music of the recordings.

Quotation for today

Order is a lovely thing;
On disarray it lays its wing,
Teaching simplicity to sing.
—ANNA HEMPSTEAD BRANCH

A verse for today...

Be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry: for anger resteth in the bosom of fools.—ECCL. 7:9

Daily crossword puzzle

Across

1. On behalf of
4. Recording
8. Rider Haggard novel
11. Farm animal
12. Secondhand
13. Cribbage marker
14. Showing initiative
17. Form of John
18. Craggy hill
19. Saucy
21. Haw. lava
23. Fodder tower
26. Hatchet
27. Remnants
29. Kind of dance
30. You and I
31. Sport coat
33. Sun god
34. Petite
36. Aggressive
38. Golf instructor
39. Provided
41. Rice paste
42. Speaker
46. Cap
47. Ring
48. Peer Gynt's mother
49. Pepper plant
50. Cloy
51. Knowledge

Down

1. Retainer
2. Acknowledge
3. Go to bed
4. Rotate
5. Horned viper
6. Through
7. Redact
8. Enthusiasm
9. Biddy
10. Cake ingredient
15. Corrode
16. "Mayday"
19. Cat's feet
20. Archetype
21. Literary scraps
22. Woodworker's tool
24. Generosity
25. Bright colored fish
27. Pipe joint
28. Cement
31. Political group
32. Reddish-brown horse
35. Redolence
37. Eskimo boat
39. Willow
40. Order
42. Gr. long E
43. Periods of good times
44. Bravo
45. Half score

Answer Block Appears Among Advertisements

Tubby

BY GUERNSEY LE PELLEY

SUSIE, THROW THE BALL ... DON'T JUST STAND THERE — QUICK — THROW THE BALL — HE'S HEADED FOR THIRD
OH NO.... NOT IN THE RIVER!
WELL, STUPID, YOU NEVER TELL ME WHERE TO THROW IT!

Editorials

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Commentary

WEEKEND ISSUE
Distributed Saturday-Monday, July 20-22, 1968

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

PUBLISHED BY
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Time for concessions

It is welcome news that President Johnson and President Thieu of South Vietnam will come to grips with such vital groundfacts as an end to the bombing of North Vietnam and talks between Saigon and the Viet Cong. Agreement or clarification on issues such as these can, we believe, speed the present peace talks in Paris between the United States and Hanoi.

Indeed, it would appear that the moment for such a Johnson-Thieu discussion was particularly right and timely. As the two leaders met in Honolulu observers noted what appeared to be deliberate signs of North Vietnamese restraint. Not only are there reports of a partial pullback of some Northern units, but mid-July also brought a slackening in the fighting. While not daring to read Hanoi's mind or seeking to forecast what may happen in the future, some experts believe that these steps are North Vietnam's way of showing that it is ready for further forward steps in Paris — if there are matching moves from America.

We believe that a hard, no-nonsense, discussion between the two Presidents in Hawaii on the two topics mentioned above could be a prelude to such matching steps from the United States. If Hanoi is flashing a signal (and this is just the kind of a sign which Washington has all along demanded), then the United States should forthwith end all bombing of the North. Likewise, an indication that the Saigon Government had recognized the unavoidable need of at some time sitting down with spokesmen for the Viet Cong would also be a welcome indication of Allied readiness to do whatever is feasible to speed the Paris talks.

None of this means giving up whatever is right and justified in the Allied struggle. President Johnson made that clear in his pledge to President Thieu "to help your people defeat aggression" and to stand fast against all obstacles and deceptions. But flexibility on Washington's and Saigon's part would show a wholesome realization that peace will come to Vietnam only through negotiations in which all must prove themselves willing to make progress-producing concessions.

If progress does not result from new moves by Washington and Saigon, then at least the Allied side will deserve credit for having shown peace-seeking flexibility. The Allies will have won a victory in conscience, if not on the battlefield or at the negotiating table. But we still believe that, notwithstanding all the hard bargaining ahead, the Communists are prepared to reach some kind of a livable agreement. Unless and until the opposite is proven, Washington should act and, we believe, is acting, on the assumption that mutual concessions will eventually result in peace.

Yeast at last?

Last November the long-heard cries that commercial TV in America made a dull loaf were responded to with the signing of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 by President Johnson. The act provided for setting up a public corporation with its own TV show producing facilities — a fourth national TV network, as it were, but without advertising, without vapid comedy and Western series, and with quality entertainment, news-issues, and educational programs throughout the day.

As of last week no funds had been appropriated, however. This week the Senate and House Appropriations committees are meeting jointly to consider legislation that could get public TV started at last. The bills, totaling $21.5 million, would authorize $9 million for creation and manning of the corporation, and $12.5 million for facilities. The measures would then go to the floors of both houses.

Surely this is the time for Congress to act favorably on behalf of public TV, whose leaven of quality will only be more needed as time passes. The power of TV for good is tremendous. Educational programs for preschoolers, thought-jogging sessions for adults, imaginative arts programs — what better alternatives are there to the mental fog that drifts over our hard-beset cities and rural areas?

Eventually more than $200 million a year is envisioned as necessary to run a strong public TV network. The funds could come either from an excise tax on new sets (fought by TV manufacturers) or from communications satellite revenues paid by commercial TV, radio, and other users. Opposition for both measures is stiff. Yet the start toward the fourth, people's network must be made.

Democracy still on ice?

As always, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. This is the best that can be said about the new draft Constitution for Greece which the colonels in Athens unveiled the other day. There is to be a plebiscite, probably in September, in which the people of Greece will either endorse or reject the draft. But there is no date proposed for the parliamentary elections which the proposed new Constitution authorizes.

The colonels' critics will almost certainly assert that the new Constitution is so much window dressing intended to help them stay in power and continue to run Greece with the paternal and sometimes ruthless hand which they have applied to government since April, 1967. If this proves correct, it will indeed be a case of "democracy on ice" — to use the phrase coined by Elizabeth Drew in an informative and perceptive article on Greece in the July number of the Atlantic monthly.

Few will shed any tears about the new definition given the role of the Crown in the new Constitution. To survive in Greece, the monarchy would have to "Scandinavianize" itself in any case. But there are a lot of phrases in the document which could be used — or abused — to stifle legitimate political expression even after Parliament resumes its functions.

Premier (and ex-Colonel) Papadopoulos has a liking for hospital analogies. Introducing the draft Constitution to the press, he said he would not hesitate to put his patient (the Greek electorate) back into a plaster cast if he thought it necessary. Does not this have at least a continuingly constrictive ring?

Black mayor up against it

Richard Hatcher is the first black Mayor of Gary, Ind. He made front-page news last November, together with Carl Stokes — who was simultaneously elected the first black Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio — and Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, who was defeated in a close race for the mayoralty of Boston. Mr. Hatcher and Mr. Stokes were rightly seen as symbolizing the upward thrust of the black man for political power at the big city level within the American democratic system. To many, Mrs. Hicks symbolized the white backlash to that black thrust.

What should not be overlooked is that the results of these three mayoral elections did not necessarily remove forever the bitternesses and sharp confrontations which attended the victories of Messrs. Hatcher and Stokes and the defeat of Mrs. Hicks. Race relations in Gary, Cleveland, and Boston are being decided for better or worse by what has happened since. In Boston and Cleveland, so far so good. In Gary, it is a different story. Mayor Hatcher is struggling very much with his back to the wall. In this there is poignancy, for Mr. Hatcher as a man is of higher caliber than the run-of-the-mill machine politician to which his harsh and corrupted city is accustomed.

Ironically, his difficulties in Gary spring partly from his having bucked the machine of his own Democratic Party. His main foe is John Krupa, chairman of the party organization in Lake County, within which Gary lies. Mr. Hatcher's election as Mayor last November was over the almost frenzied opposition of Mr. Krupa and his men. In their efforts to fell Mr. Hatcher they played on the shopworn themes of race and left-wing intellectualism. They did not succeed then. But ominously, they have managed more recently to defeat in the primaries for Lake County offices every candidate endorsed by Mayor Hatcher — and to secure the nomination instead for their own. (Mr. Hatcher's candidates were all black. But in his city appointments as Mayor, he has in fact alienated some blacks by giving too many jobs — as they see it — to whites. Gary's population is nearly 60 percent black.)

Faced with only thin white support at home, Mr. Hatcher keeps his long-distance lines open to Washington and the foundations. In the current presidential campaign, he is significantly being as noncommittal as possible: He is not sure whom he might have to deal with in the White House next year. But there is a point, of course, beyond which too much outside support is harmful rather than helpful in local politics.

The thoughtful British weekly, the Economist, sensitive to the national effect if Mr. Hatcher fails or can be discredited as Mayor of Gary, recently had a correspondent in the city. He described Mr. Hatcher's predicament as "a race against time in a number of ways." Surely men of goodwill should do all they can to help him win it — both for a better Gary and a better America.

'I'll save you if you marry me'

The search at Uppsala

Let's think

By Erwin D. Canham

Uppsala, Sweden

The very look of the World Council of Churches, meeting in this placid old university town for its fourth assembly in 20 years, was stirring.

Representatives of over 230 Christian churches, picturesque with the inherited vestments of ancient tradition were living reminders of the ecumenical age. They covered the wide range of Protestantism and Eastern Orthodoxy. Some 64 "delegated observers" included 15 Roman Catholics, not members but with the right to speak.

The atmosphere of the three weeks of meetings was entirely congenial. The most disparate Christians fraternized eagerly with one another. They preserved their various identities, but respected those of others.

Mingled with the 720 voting delegates were a large number of official "youth participants," and other young men and women serving as stewards. They met frequently, made speeches, issued manifestoes, published a paper "Hot News," and vigorously pushed their elders in a liberal direction.

'Third world' involved

For many reasons, the overall thrust of these sessions was toward a more socially conscious church, seeking to cope with the problems of the world in a setting of Christian commitment.

The "third world" — the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America — was much in evidence. Not only were there many outspoken churchmen from the hungry countries, but the church leaders of the developed nations had an active sense of conscience toward them.

The United States delegates met the full brunt of criticism of policies in Vietnam and of what was described as economic "neocolonialism." A good many American churchmen agreed with the critics. There were few defenders.

These brief sessions were part of Protestant Christianity's effort to modernize itself, as Roman Catholicism has sought to do in the Vatican Council. Much could not be accomplished in three weeks, of course. Individual denominations are carrying on the effort to modernize regularly, each in its own way.

Results uncertain

Intelligent and dedicated as were the efforts at Uppsala, one came away not certain of the results. Many churches have a long way to go to make themselves an effective part of the modern world. There were notes almost of despair, as the "post-Christian" era was referred to, and the secularism and materialism of these days were recognized.

Yet the churches, beleaguered as they may be, are a powerful force in the modern world. Their only hope of survival is to relate to the needs and problems of individuals throughout the world. Undoubtedly the question of war and peace, and of the race between population growth and starvation, which were central to the discussions here, are great issues.

But do these issues go deep enough? Do the churches realize the need for a clearer identification of God in a scientific age? When one American Presbyterian sought to describe men's expression of God's dominion in technological terms he was loudly and embarrassingly derided by the youthful part of the audience. He simply had not made himself clear.

Gap yawns

Most of the sessions were still wrapped in theological terminology which was hard to understand and interpret in contemporary terms. It was still an ancient private language, kept in a compartment of life not coherent to a good deal of human experience in 1968. The gap between the church and the world, despite ardent efforts to close it, still yawned wide.

Uppsala was a stage in the progress of modern Christianity. It was a meeting place, an encounter. It identified many problems, it recognized that this age is a time of revolution, it accepted the responsibilities of social action. But somehow, with one foot in the world of inherited theology and another in the area of social action, it did not make its program clear enough.

To come together was useful. The world view of many clerics and laymen has been broadened. Their churches will benefit by it.

But modern Christianity has not yet found the way.

Mirror of opinion

Economy, Congress-style

This year was supposed to have been the year of economy in Washington where an administration request for a tax increase to finance the war in Vietnam and domestic programs was granted by Congress only at the price of a $6 billion slash in the budget.

However, looking over the list of expenditures for the creature comfort of the lawmakers themselves, we wonder if their definition of economy applies to their constituents.

How can a member of Congress justify cutting funds for military equipment, education, housing and feeding the poor while he digs into thick steaks and other plenteous foods which cost the taxpayers more than $100,000 last year? The taxpayers provide the food served in the red-carpeted Capitol dining rooms at 25 percent below cost.

Critics have listed a number of other expensive items provided to congressmen by the taxpayers.

An emergency purchase of M-16 rifles used in Vietnam brought loud protests in Congress yet one senator complained that his six-room suite was inadequate for his 30-member staff.

The House purchased 71,431 wall calendars, or 164 calendars for each member for an outlay of $36,270. The House also has begun a $6.9 million expansion and remodeling program which includes a new $150,000 marble railing along the roof of the old Cannon Office Building.

The lavish Rayburn House Office Building which has already cost $125 million requires an additional $330,000 because somebody forgot about the basement level. The building cost originally was estimated at $64 million.

Expenditure of $1.25 million has been approved for land upon which to build a third Senate building in order that senators "may do their work under reasonably economical and efficient working conditions."

This causes us to wonder if some members of Congress realize that the year of economy also is the year of an election.— **Houston Chronicle**

Our readers write

Letters from readers are welcome. All are subject to condensation. We assume no responsibility for statements made.

Dr. Spock

To The Christian Science Monitor:

Congratulations on the recent editorial, "Dr. Spock and freedom of speech." It was the sort of piece that renews one's hope in democracy in a day when some of our cherished principles are suffering from erosion. It has the two ingredients that we all consider essential to a good editorial: good reasoning and good writing.

The only criticism I would have is that it should have been up at the top of the page.

Cambridge, Mass. **Dwight E. Sargent**

Word connoisseurs

To The Christian Science Monitor:

Referring to a recent "Mirror of opinion," it appears to me that the Dallas editorial was not written antidisestablishmentarianistically, as was claimed, but merely pseudo-antidisestablishmentarianistically, to put it briefly.

Flintshire, England **C. Henry**

'America's colossal capacity'

To The Christian Science Monitor:

Many thanks for the column entitled "America's colossal capacity." In these somber days such vigorous ideas help us not to lose our emotional balance and our intellectual perspective. There are other factors behind the tremendous resources of America which make me believe that we will be able to lick poverty in our midst. A strong moral strain, a warm hearted willingness to help the disadvantaged neighbor as exemplified by the Quakers, has always been a precious part of our heritage.

A powerful imagination which helped to rebuild Europe after Hitler when the task seemed hopeless, can be marshaled again.

Of course, there are strong forces trying to squelch our intentions. The uncanny pace of change in our society has left people confused and frightened. Technology has tried to dehumanize our relations with our fellow men. Fortunately there have been hopeful countercurrents, above all an amassed youth determined to build a better America.

San Francisco **Oscar Oppenheimer**

'Partners in cruelty'

To The Christian Science Monitor:

As a representative of the International Council Against Bullfighting, I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation for your recent publishing of a very fine letter. The title was "Partners in cruelty," and it condemns the bullfight.

In these days of worldwide violence and bloodshed it is indeed heartening to hear of someone who refuses to condone the torturing to death of animals as public entertainment. The barbaric horrors of the bullfight have no place in an enlightened society, and I am grateful once again for the coverage given your writer whose sentiments are so well expressed.

Medfield, Mass. **B. Barty-King**

For humanity's sake

To The Christian Science Monitor:

Your recent editorial is easily one of the most perceptive comments made on the Nigerian civil war by American mass media. General Gowon faces a situation comparable to that which Abraham Lincoln had to deal with. His choice, like Lincoln's, is to maintain the unity of the nation.

At what price? War implies blood, toil and tears—in short, intense human suffering and agonizing sorrow on both sides. After a while either side finds itself in a hopeless situation, that is, as you put it, that its forces have reached the last ditch. At that point, if the leadership has real feeling for its followership, reason and not pride demands that it should call an end to the suffering. The rebels in Nigeria are in that position today. For humanity's sake, they should renounce secession and put an end to the tragedy of our peoples.

Won't they? The answer is that they will not as long as they find succor in those countries of the Western world which cherish instability in Africa, as long as they are recognized by immature countries like Tanzania, and as long as they imagine that General Gowon can be blackmailed into a unilateral cease-fire, to enable them to repair their forces and renew the struggle. In those circumstances only a fool will urge General Gowon not to hold back from a unilateral cease-fire.

At the human suffering and the shortage of food all Nigerians are deeply concerned. In fact Nigerians everywhere are eager to send valuable relief supplies to those most affected and these will undoubtedly lessen the burden now borne by outside bodies like the International Red Cross. Strangely enough, offers are rebuffed, and even the mercy corridor from Enugu southwards through which relief supplies can move more freely is rejected.

Can it be that the rebels prefer the airlift of arms and ammunition to an airlift of food and medicine?

Whatever the illusions are, one thing is indisputable: In the Nigerian crisis, the wrongs are not on one side. What is needed is a spirit of compromise, a willingness to forgive and forget, and a determination that the mistakes of the past shall not be repeated.

If you, Mr. Editor, or anyone else can bring that home meaningfully to the aggrieved, then 56 million Nigerians will be eternally indebted to you.

Chief A. Y. Eke
Commissioner For Finance
Midwest State, Nigeria